JAPAN AND CHRIST

M. S. MURAO
W. H. M. WALTON

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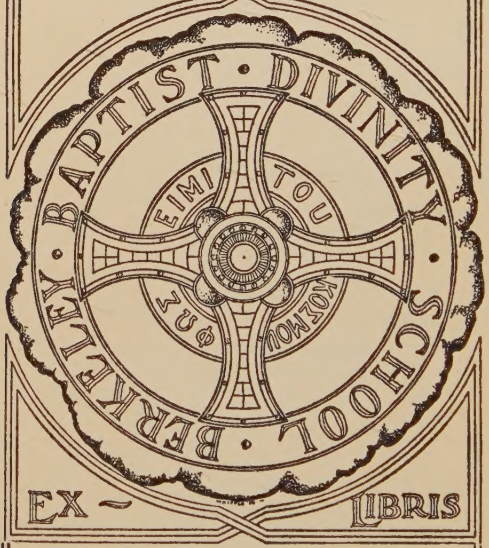

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Photograph] [*Dr. Andrew Bird*

Dawn on Norikura, 9930 feet

Frontispiece]

(*See page* 31)

JAPAN AND CHRIST

A Study in Religious Issues

BY

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AND

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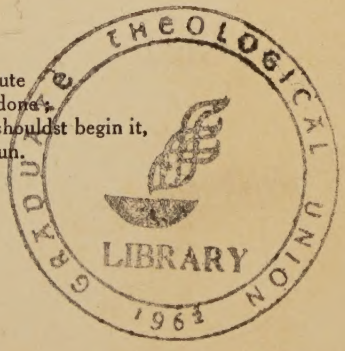
Missionary of the C.M.S. in Japan

Let no man think that sudden in a minute
All is accomplished and the work is done;
Though with thine earliest dawn thou shouldst begin it,
Scarce were it ended in thy setting sun.



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TO
MYRA AND YUKO

TO WHOM
WE OWE MORE
THAN WE CAN TELL,
AND THEY CAN KNOW

49495

PREFACE

WE have written this book at the request of the C.M.S. Had it not been for the promise made to them it would probably have never seen the light; for as our work has progressed we have been to an increasing degree conscious of the difficulty of our task. It is not easy in a field of the complexity of Japan to give a fair presentation of a position which is ever changing.

The dominant note in missionary circles to-day is perhaps the one of success, or the hope of success. "He must reign until He hath put all enemies under His feet." In much that we have read and heard there seems to be a failure to realize that man may thwart God's purposes as well as fulfil them; or at all events he may fail to fulfil them in God's way by a contentedness with lower ideals. For this reason we have in our consideration of the subject of the task in Japan been frankly critical; we trust we have also been constructive. If the words that follow serve to bring home to the Church both in Japan and in the West the seriousness of the task we will be content.

We are together responsible for all the book contains, but our special thanks are due also to the Rt. Rev. S. Heaslett, D.D., Bishop of South Tokyo, and the Rev. P. K. Goto, B.D., who have kindly read through the manuscript and given us valuable criticism. We are also indebted to those whose names appear in the bibliography at the end.

M. S. MURAO
W. H. MURRAY WALTON

FOREWORD

THE authors of this book, the Rev. M. S. Murao and the Rev. W. H. Murray Walton, are close friends of mine. They are jointly engaged in the newspaper and literary evangelistic work of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, and I do not know a better combination of persons to engage in such an enterprise.

The book tells of an unfinished task, and this, in my opinion, is the most fitting way of describing the missionary situation in Japan at the present time. It may of course be a question as to just at what stage it may be described as finished, but there is no doubt that the evangelization of Japan is not as yet even half accomplished.

The book is written interestingly and impressively. It deals with problems in Japan which have a bearing, direct or indirect, on missionary work. Its main purpose is to present to its readers the real facts about Japan and the Japanese, and at the same time to survey the missionary work in this country, past, present, and future. It places them in a right position to know the real needs of Japan from the Christian standpoint.

I am one of those who are convinced that foreign missionaries in Japan are still in great demand. But the kind needed are those who have a full understanding of Japan and her people. This volume will go a long way towards supplying this understanding.

P. Y. MATSUI,
Bishop of Tokyo

July, 1928

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CHAPTER I

Japan To-day

Whereas I deem this an age
Wherein the world in brotherhood is bound:
Whence is that the fierce winds rage,
And dash and spread wild waves around?

Poem by the Emperor Meiji

THERE is a story told of a Canadian farmer who paid a visit to Scotland, and, being amazed at the mountainous character of the country, exclaimed: "What *can* you grow in a land like this?" A Scotsman who overheard him, and who was not too pleased at the tone of his remark, answered back: "We grow *men*."

If we may apply this story to a country like Japan, with its high mountains and deep valleys, there is one thing, at any rate, which it does grow: it grows men. The population-harvest, if nothing else, is a rich one; so rich, indeed, that it has a vital bearing on Japan's political and social conditions, on her present economic anxieties, and on her educational and religious problems. In all of these, the rapid increase of population is creating a state of affairs that demands careful and wise statesmanship.

At the time of the opening of the country sixty years ago, the population was thirty millions; to-day it has doubled. In the olden days, by the use of various primitive methods, it was possible to put a limit on the number of the family, so that it did not become too large; but, with the coming of western civilization and standards, such practices are now forbidden by law.

This and other changes have brought the population of Japan proper to sixty millions, and it is rapidly increasing. There are 410 people to the square mile, as against 35 in the United States. This figure is somewhat less than that of England and Belgium ; but when we remember that the greater part of Japan is mountainous and that the population is largely dependent on agriculture for its existence, and, further, that Japan does not possess the extensive colonies of the two last-named countries, it is not difficult to see how acute this problem of population is becoming. Even with her colonies added, Japan has a population of 316 to the square mile, as against the British Empire's 32, and China's 97. In other words, her total population is ten times as dense as that of the largest empire, and three times as dense as that of the most populated country in the world.

Add to this the facts that Japan is a country not particularly rich in natural resources, that her industrial progress is hindered by the chaotic conditions in China, which is potentially her biggest market, and that in consequence she is reduced to a chronic state of receiving more than she can export—and we can see how close a relation this " growing of men " has to the economic and other basic problems that confront the country to-day.

When Japan, after her long seclusion, came once again into contact with the outer world, and realized how far behind she was in the march of modern civilization, she threw herself heart and soul into acquiring this new way of life. The importation of thoughts and things from the West became an obsession. Books from abroad, for example, were

described more often by the educated classes as "original works," than as "foreign books."

It is sixty years now since this state of affairs began, but who would dare to say that it was ended? On the contrary, though the mode of expression may have changed somewhat, the desire for western things is keener than ever. It is significant that even to-day foreign articles are naturally regarded as good, while it is almost taken for granted that home-made products are of inferior quality. This fact tends still further to increase the disparity between imports and exports, despite the attempt to adjust things by a so-called luxury tax. Each Government that comes into power is compelled by sheer force of circumstances to put its economic policy in the forefront of its programme. Population and food-supply are two fundamental issues in all state policy.

But why does not the Government encourage emigration? It does to a certain extent. In 1925 there were 600,000 Japanese living abroad, including those who were visitors for purposes of trade or education. Hokkaido, the most northerly and least populated of the main islands of Japan, receives about 70,000 colonists annually and Brazil 10,000 more; but together this barely accounts for ten per cent of the annual increase in population. Nevertheless it may be argued that a comprehensive scheme of extension would solve the problem. England is finding such a policy no easy one to carry through, but in Japan certain factors render it still more difficult to put into practice. To begin with, in some countries, on account of racial discrimination, Japanese residence is becoming increasingly difficult; already in more than one country

oriental immigration is barred. Even in such lands as Manchuria and Mongolia, where it might be expected that some outlet could be found, the influx of Japanese immigrants is met by a manifold greater influx of Chinese, so that the people who benefit most by the various public works which Japanese capital and Japanese brains have put through, are not her own nationals, but immigrants from another country. Further, such Japanese immigration is practically confined to traders, shopkeepers, and employees of great business firms; very few are farmers or labourers. There is a still more fundamental difficulty. The real reason why America excludes Japanese, and why the colonization of Manchuria and Mongolia makes such slow progress, is that the Japanese do not make good colonists. They are not prepared to settle down in the country of their adoption. This applies even to countries within the Japanese Empire.

In the legendary story of Japan's beginning, when the sun goddess had made the country, she described it as "the land of rich rice and fertile fields," and from that day Japanese, almost without realizing it, have regarded Japan as a country favoured above all others, a veritable land of the gods. The story, which they learnt as children, of Momotaro going to other lands in order to plunder them and returning home with the spoil, has almost become second nature to them. As a result, those who go abroad, go with but little idea of learning to like their new environment and making permanent homes there; they look forward rather to the day when, with peace and plenty, they will once again be able to go back to their native land and there settle down

for the rest of their lives. It is because of this attitude that they are classed in other countries as undesirable immigrants, and their efforts, even in Manchuria and Mongolia, do not meet with more success. Till Japan comes to realize that the whole earth " is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," till her people get rid of the idea that they must wear a protective charm when they go abroad, there is little hope of a solution of her problems of population and food supply.

I

IN Japan, where natural resources are not plentiful, more than half the population is agricultural. Compared with western countries, this seems an unduly large proportion ; in England only eight per cent of the people live on the land.

The reasons for this are buried deep in Japan's history. Before the Restoration the country was divided into a large number of *daimyo* (feudal baron) fiefs, in which the peasant class, who formed the bulk of the population, existed largely to support their lord and his retainers. When the imperial authority was restored and the daimyo surrendered their powers, the class system was swept away ; but the country folk remained. They still form the backbone of the nation. With the growth, however, of the city population, and the fact that, owing to mountains and other physical features, only one-sixth of Japan can be cultivated, it is not difficult to see that, despite highly intensive agricultural methods, it is fast becoming impossible for Japan to support herself. Taking the Japanese Empire as a

whole, the average farm for the support of a family of five is about two acres, as against the fifteen acres in England, and a hundred in the United States. Further, the cultivation of rice does not lend itself to the use of mechanical power; planting and reaping alike have to be done by hand. These facts militate still further against self-support and tend to increase food and other imports.

Even such a thing as the production of silk, which is still one of Japan's main exports and which in the past has been a fruitful source of income to the country, is with the advent of machinery now passing from the home to the factory, with the result that the farmer's lot is becoming increasingly difficult. He is compelled perforce to supplement his meagre income by various other jobs. This is well illustrated in a letter received from a correspondent by the New Life Hall in Tokyo.[1] He writes:—

> On account of the present economic conditions my house is reduced to poverty. I have been obliged by reason of the general depression in agriculture to take to keeping silkworms, but the silk market itself to-day is in a desperate condition. Farmers, though they are called by that title, cannot afford to keep for their own comsumption more than five or six months' supply of food; for the rest of the time they are obliged to supplement their income by doing extra work day and night. Our house does fishing in order to keep things together, and this takes every spare moment we have. In this village, if one house goes bankrupt, the rest will soon follow. Our home would have to be broken up, and the outlook would be serious.

A survey of the economic conditions in forty villages made by the Ministry of Agriculture revealed

[1] The head-quarters of the newspaper evangelistic work of the Sei Ko Kwai.

the fact that the average countryman lives on less than 4*d*. a day. Only one farmer in ten can afford to add fish to his mixture of rice and barley ; the rest have to be content with vegetable pickles. It is a significant fact that infant mortality is higher in the country than in the town.

Amid such conditions it is not surprising that the lure of the city to the younger generation is very real. Those who can leave the farms drift to the towns, despite the almost certain disillusionment that awaits them. Those who cannot go are discontented with their lot, and only remain to add fuel to the tenant farmers' disputes, which are becoming a more serious problem every year.

This country problem, from whatever aspect it is regarded—economic, social, or spiritual—calls for urgent action and solution. Some students of this problem think that the only way out is to be found by employing co-operative methods such as are in use in Denmark to-day. There may be truth in this, but in reality the problem is more fundamental. It is spiritual. In other words, it demands not merely a change of condition, but also of the whole method of approach to the question. Farmers are co-workers with Nature. If their sole idea is to use such methods as produce the quickest returns, they will find their lot increasingly difficult. In their present economic stress this temptation is very real ; it requires men of character and purpose to resist it. It is a striking fact that the two men who have done perhaps more than any others to raise the lot of the farmer are both Christians. They have stressed the importance of faith combined with modern agricultural methods.

II

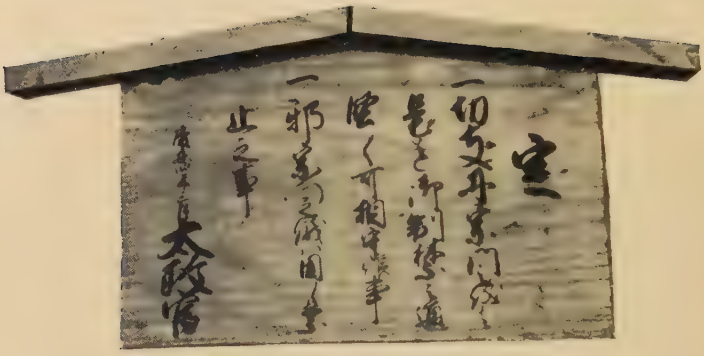
WE pass from the country to the town, from the rural to the financial problem. When Japan, as the result of her war with China and Russia, became one of the dominant nations in the East, she found herself as a great Power called upon to carry a burden of armaments quite disproportionate to her resources and economic position. The Great Earthquake of 1923 cost as much as a small war. In consequence, except for a short period during the great war, her financial condition has been one of increasing difficulty. The National Debt, which by 1914 had been reduced to £280,000,000, is now double this figure, and this despite the fact that during the war Japan enjoyed a tremendous financial boom. To the countries of the West, drained by all the cost of the great war, this figure may seem small, but it must be remembered that the wealth of Japan *per capita* is only one-third that of England.

The climax was reached in the spring of 1927 with appalling suddenness. It began with the refusal of the Government to support a semi-official bank which had been indulging in speculation ; it ended with the collapse of fourteen other banks, including one of the biggest in the country. Thousands of investors lost their all. Only by a policy of rapid inflation, and by underwriting a large proportion of the debts of these banks, was the Government able to save the situation. Amid such conditions it is hardly to be expected that industry should make much progress. The relief obtained is only temporary : Japan is not yet out of her economic wood.

The Shinto Shrine of Izumo Taisha

The artist, in order to depict the shrine more clearly, has left out most of the trees

f. 8] (*See page* 121 ; *cf.*, *page* 35)



An Anti-Christian Notice Board

(*See page* 88)

The Two Old Men

The writer is on the right hand

(*See page* 81)

As a result, the labour question has once again sprung to the fore, but this time with a new significance. During the great war, when Japan had an unprecedented opportunity of capturing the markets of the world, there was a tremendous demand for labour. Wages soared to fabulous heights; the Labour Movement grew to unheard-of dimensions. But when the reaction set in, Labour was compelled to accept the circumstances without redress. There were no means of political action. To-day, however, the working man has the vote. At the time of the financial crash, while capitalists went bankrupt, and peers had to surrender their titles, thousands of working men also found themselves out of work. These offered a ready field for the propaganda of extremists.

Till 1927 the Labour Movement had shown an increasing tendency to the Right. This was largely due to two reasons. In the first place, many of the leaders were men who had been strongly influenced by Christian ideals, and who stood for evolution rather than revolution. In the second place, the fact that England had had a Labour Government and survived it made a profound impression on Japan. But the present economic depression, coupled with a decided swing towards Russia in answer to the immigration policy of the United States, has proved a godsend to the agitator. Over 300,000 copies of Marx's works have been sold in a few months. Pamphlets of the reddest hue are to be found in all the bookshops. In the universities, too, extreme views have many supporters among professors and students alike. In the winter of 1927-8 there was a considerable round-up of communistic students by the police, and many are still awaiting trial. Since then

several university professors have been obliged to resign. Amid all these conditions the Christian Church is frankly dubbed the Church of the *bourgeoisie*, and that not altogether without reason. As will be shown later, the effort to obtain financial independence has tended to too great a concentration on the propertied classes; this tendency has been made all the easier by the opposition in the earlier days of the working classes under their priestly leaders. As an inevitable result the Church is branded with being respectable like its supporters and as lacking that enthusiasm for the poor which has animated the leaders of Labour. Whether, in face of new conditions, Christianity will regain its influence is an open question. These left-wing men are dead in earnest; they are out for reality; they are not prompted by selfish motives; and it is a striking fact that many of them were once members of the organized Church.

III

BETWEEN the capitalists and the labouring classes there exist in Japan what are known as the "educated classes." At the present time their lot is a singularly unhappy one. To understand this it will be well to look briefly at the present state of education of which they are the product.

Before the Restoration, education was largely a matter of personal influence. The *samurai* received their education from their fathers or elder brothers, or else they went as pupils to some well-known teacher. The common people were taught in the

temple schools, or went as apprentices or understudies to teachers who undertook to give them a general education in return for services rendered. But after the Restoration, as the new knowledge from the West began to pour in, everybody was anxious to share in it, until it became a *sine qua non* for a man to go to school if he hoped to get on in later life.

The Government introduced a system of universal education from the elementary school to the university, of which the first-named was compulsory. In addition, much was done by way of private enterprise, and, though most of these private schools no longer exist, yet some of the survivors hold an influential position in the national life. Conspicuous among these are Keio University, which specializes in economics, Waseda University, which produces journalists, technicians, and—if the recent contest with the Achilles Club be any gauge—athletes; and the Eigakujiku, which provides the best women's higher education in Tokyo. To-day, 99.4 per cent of the children of primary school age attend school; in fact, there are hardly any who do not.[1] The original compulsory period of four years was later extended to six, and is now nominally eight. Middle school and higher education is still voluntary, but the desire for it is so strong, that parents are ready to mortgage their family estates in order to enable their children to receive it. As a result, although the number of such

[1] *School Ages:* Elementary schools are for children from 6 to 12 (compulsory). Middle schools are for boys from 12 to 18. Higher schools are for girls from 12 to 16. Higher elementary schools are for children from 12 to 14 who do not enter either of the two above. High schools are for men students from 18 to 24; universities are for students from 21 to 24 or 25.

schools steadily increases year by year, yet only about half of those who apply for entrance are able to get in. Even though they may attain the standard there is not the accommodation. We remember one such school in a city in West Japan, where two independent middle schools were meeting in the same buildings at different times.

Compared with other countries the progress made by Japan in education may be a matter for congratulation, but the system, such as it is, is one that carries in its train very doubtful advantages. In the first place, in accordance with the rules issued by the Ministry of Education, parents are obliged to entrust their children to a system of education of a higher standard and different from that which they have received themselves. This has tended to create in the student an attitude of superiority towards his parents, till to-day his class is regarded as privileged, and the whole family is called upon to do it service. Indeed, society tends to accord them all that respect to which they think themselves entitled—and their claims are high! This can hardly be called an educational ideal.

In the second place, from the time it is decided that the child shall go on to receive higher education, he is confronted with a never-ending series of examinations. These competitive examinations are not mere tests as to whether the candidate has attained the standard required by the school; they are, as their name suggests, stern competitions in which one only succeeds at the expense of another's failure.

In the third place, though schools originally were designed for the purpose of education, the tendency

has been to regard them as "crammers"—their object has been rather to get the pupils through examinations than to fit them for the life before them. The result is that when a student does go out into the world, he has to learn from the beginning his duty to society. School or university has been a place for conferring a rank; having obtained his degree, he now enters upon the next stage in his career, a stage which has no special relation to what has gone before.

To sum up, education is regarded not for what it is, but for what it confers; it is simply a business commodity. This is seen all the more clearly when it is borne in mind that higher education is the one gate through which the student must pass if he hopes to get on in the future. A man who rises to the highest rank by sheer force of personality is almost unknown in Japan. The all-important thing is his educational record. The dignity of the teacher's profession, of course, disappears when such ideals prevail. The schoolmaster is just a cog in a machine for turning out graduates. He is answerable to his pupils rather than they to him. This explains the not uncommon phenomenon of students' strikes in Japan, in which it is almost an unwritten law that when and though the master wins, he must hand in his resignation at a suitable opportunity. Lastly, as a result of this commercial conception of education, when schools are selected it is not because of the character-training they offer, nor according to the particular bent of the would-be pupil; they are chosen according to the market value of the subjects they teach. For example, a boy is sent to a commercial school not because his

talents lie mostly in that direction, but because on graduation the world of commerce offers him the greatest hope of a job.

But even graduation is not the end. The student is confronted with still another series of examinations, for which his educational record is but a condition of entry. Whether he gets a post in bank or office, in shop or government employ, depends upon his success in the same ruthless system of competition which has dogged his footsteps ever since he left the elementary school.

In recent years the prospect has become distressing in the extreme, for, with the increase of higher education, the number of men graduating from these schools is now far in excess of the posts available. A student to-day who has been put through college at great sacrifice has no certainty that he will find employment. If he is unsuccessful in his quest, he becomes an "idler in the market place," little better off than if he had failed when first he tried to scale the educational ladder. What is the end of it all? He is discouraged. His educational record has not proved the value he hoped. He has lost the desire to start out on his own, if indeed he ever had it, for the Japanese system of education does not encourage initiative. He has taken for granted that his profession would provide for him, and it has not done so. "He cannot dig; to beg he is ashamed." As a result of his school experience he is already deeply imbued with the competitive spirit. He has lost, if he ever possessed, a sense of higher values. To him education has never been a means of training character and disciplining life; it has simply been directed towards

a job, and the job has not materialized. He becomes discontented, dissatisfied with the society which has treated him thus, and so he goes to swell the ranks of the restless unemployed and becomes good material for the agitator.

There is no doubt that one of the chief causes for this unsatisfactory state of affairs has been the policy of secular education. Religion till recently has been rigorously barred from all government schools, and even mission schools, if they are to enjoy full privileges, are not allowed to have religious teaching as part of the curriculum. It is an extra subject, to be given off the premises and out of school hours. Full allowance, of course, must be made for the difficulties attendant on religious education in a land where religions are multiple. But the most striking phenomenon in the educational world to-day is the *volte face* change in attitude on the part of the authorities. In a recent speech before the National Christian Council the late Minister of Education, Dr. R. Mizuno, said :—

> It goes without saying that faith is a necessity to the spiritual outlook of the nation. Man cannot exist merely as a material being ; spiritual faith is essential. Of course, education also is most important. Though education helps to guide the ideas and spiritual outlook of the nation, we cannot attain these ends merely through its help. Here religion is indispensable. There are various religions, and I do not pretend to say whether any one of them is good or bad, but the guidance and inspiration of the human heart through religion is an evident necessity in the progress of civilization.

At more than one meeting in recent years the Imperial Educational Association has stressed the

same point. Perhaps this is the reason why the authorities have recently modified their attitude to the extent of giving permission to suitable persons to give special lectures on religion in government schools.

IV

BUT is the state of religion in Japan to-day such as to warrant the hope that it can meet the advances of these educationists? In the next chapter we shall be studying in greater detail the debt that Japan owes to her religious heritage; but in the study of things as they are in Japan to-day it will not be out of place to take a cursory glance at the situation.

There are at the present time three recognized religions—Buddhism Shinto, and Christianity. According to the official census, Buddhism has forty-eight million adherents, Shinto sixteen million, Christianity 212,000. Shinto, in turn, is divided into two parts, state Shinto and sect Shinto. The former, according to the Government, is not a religion, but rather a cult for strengthening the spirit of patriotism. Its priests therefore, strictly speaking, are not religionists, but are accorded official rank, and are known as ritualists. They have to preside at official Shinto ceremonies and attend to the offering of prayer, but they are not allowed to give teaching. For the last fifteen or sixteen years, in view of the need of strengthening nationalistic thought, the custom has arisen of getting them to take children to do reverence at the state shrines, but this act is expressly stated by the authorities to be

devoid of all religious significance. In addition to this state Shinto, there is sect Shinto, which is specially given to the propagation of Shinto ideas, and is religion pure and simple. It has considerable influence, but it is a moot point whether it has any future, despite the efforts of scholars like Professor Genchi Kato, of the Tokyo Imperial University, to state it in terms of modern thought.

Buddhism, on the other hand, is in a much stronger position. It does, at all events, claim to be a philosophy, and its cultural contribution to Japan is unquestioned. Further, to an increasing degree it is paying attention to social service and other such activities. Indeed, the late Bishop Motoda gave it as his opinion that in the future the strength of Buddhism will lie more in these two directions than in its religious appeal. As a religion, Buddhism is divided into thirteen sects. The doctrines of these are so hopelessly confused as to be almost irreconcilable; nevertheless, it still holds a place in the affections of the common people, though so far as the younger generation is concerned to a markedly lessening degree. As a factor in the social life of the masses, Buddhist festivals are as popular as ever. The annual festival at the Ikegami Temple, near Tokyo, will draw as many as half a million worshippers, but there is very little real religion about the whole thing. Shinshu is the one sect which may be said to be holding its own, and it is of a more spiritual type than any of the others. It is well organized, and numbers among its leaders many priests of good education and wide culture. The Zen sect, as a method of self-discipline, makes considerable appeal to the educated classes, but for most people

Buddhism is chiefly associated with festivals and funerals. It is not regarded primarily as a means of getting spiritual truth and nourishment. Nevertheless, on account of the large number of its believers among the common people and the great wealth of the temples, Buddhism is a force which cannot be neglected.

But to most people the strength of these two religions lies in the emphasis that they put on national thought. It is not their religious, but their patriotic appeal which counts. Shinto, of course, is the national religion of the country. It has no universal idea. Japanese Buddhism is so thoroughly acclimatized as to be more Japanese than Buddhist. Both these religions therefore find a large following among people of the jingoistic type. But the great war, and in particular Japan's share in the League of Nations, has loosed a flood of international thought in Japan, and these old self-contained, self-centred nationalistic ideas are now definitely at a discount. This has led to still greater confusion in the minds of the religious leaders. It is as if one of the great grounds of appeal has suddenly been cut away from beneath their feet.

In addition to Buddhism and Shinto, all sorts of new religions are now in vogue, which, though on the surface they are neither Buddhist nor Shinto, yet owe much to both these religions and to Christianity. Some of them are frankly superstitious, and make but little appeal to any except the less educated classes. Others represent the sincere striving of earnest souls who are profoundly dissatisfied with the present state of society, and who vary between those who deem it better to work

for its destruction and those who would withdraw from it entirely.

Christianity in Japan, as distinct from the Christian Church, exercises an influence and is finding a place in the national life far in excess of its numbers. Christmas is already firmly established as a Japanese festival. The Bible to an increasing degree is finding a place in the speech and thought of the people. The words "gospel" and "baptism" are now in common use. It is a significant fact that Christian teachers are telling Bible stories in the elementary schools of Tokyo at the request of the municipal authorities. A dramatic study of Christ by a Japanese writer was recently given in one of the leading theatres of Tokyo. The religious appeal of the film, where such exists, is almost certainly Christian. The passion for foreign music is introducing Japan to many of the great religious oratorios of the West. The hymns of the Christian Church are sung far beyond its borders. In one of the biggest nursing institutes in Japan the teaching of Christian hymns is a regular part of the nurses' curriculum. Even Buddhism is showing the influence of its younger rival. It makes no attempt to conceal the debt it owes to Christianity, so far as its efforts at social service are concerned. A recent book depicting the life of Shinran, which ran through hundreds of editions, is shot through and through with Christian thought.

The appeal of Christianity to the educated classes, especially to the rising generation, is far ahead of its rivals. In a recent investigation conducted by one of the leading newspapers in Japan into the belief of secondary school students in Osaka, it

was found that, while eighty-five per cent of the students come from Buddhist homes, less than half of these expressed a desire to believe in Buddhism, but those desiring to believe in Christianity were nearly five times in excess of the number coming from Christian homes. Three times as many students were reading Christian books as compared with those reading Buddhist publications.

Despite the spread of Christian ideas, however, it is still too early to say that Christianity has really got down into the life of the people. Among the more conservative masses its progress is almost negligible. To what extent it will be able to cope with the new situation in Japan is a question which will require fuller treatment later on.

Regarding, therefore, the condition of religion as a whole, it may be said that it is as unsettled as any other aspect of the national life ; in its present state it does not seem able to give the strong spiritual lead which is perhaps Japan's greatest need at the present time.

V

THERE is one fact, however, which dominates the whole situation.

For better or for worse the face of Japan to-day is definitely set towards the West. As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the underlying motive in her desire for things western was the belief that in them was to be found the secret of modern progress. Despite periods of reaction, Japan has never wavered in her decision.

But the significant feature of the western impact

on Japan to-day is that, whereas in the past it touched the nation's leaders, her statesmen and educators, and from them found its way to the educated classes, now it is beginning to touch the life of the nation as a whole, just as in years gone by Hellenism impregnated Jewish thought and life. Though Japan has learned to adapt western civilization to her own needs, and not merely to ape foreign ways, yet it is to the West that her people now look for her standards of life. This westernization of Japan is most in evidence in the cities, but it is now penetrating into the farthest recesses of the Empire. There are many reasons for this, of which perhaps the most outstanding is education.

The modern educational system of Japan is organized on western scientific lines. From the elementary school to the university, young Japan is under influences and in an environment entirely different from his forefathers and his home. At the elementary school he learns about the League of Nations. From the time he enters the middle school English is a compulsory subject. In the higher schools, as likely as not, his teachers have themselves been abroad for study. The building in which he works may be of reinforced concrete. The apparatus he uses may bear the mark of Sheffield or Detroit. His very clothes are of western style; so are his sister's.

Other potent factors are the Press, the film, and the radio. There are nearly three hundred daily papers in Japan. It is estimated that these have a circulation of not less than 5,000,000, which means that half the homes of Japan take in a paper. Radio antennæ are becoming as familiar an object

in the Japanese landscape as the telegraph pole. The growing appreciation of foreign music has been one of the most striking features of recent years. A first-class singer will receive as great an ovation in Tokyo or Osaka as in London or New York. Now, by means of wireless, the music of the West is broadcast over Japan. In 1926 the U.S.A. exported one and three-quarter million feet of film to Japan. Though Japanese films are increasing, American moving pictures still hold their own, and in many cases are being copied by Japanese producers. By sight and thought and sound the nation as a whole is becoming accustomed to western ways.

The motor car is bringing to within easy distance of the capital districts far beyond the reach of the railway. One of the features of the Japanese educational system is school tours, in which the pupils are taken once a year to see some of the sights of the Empire. Imagine the impression on a child's mind as he stands before one of the palatial buildings of "post-quake" Tokyo, or wanders through the corridors of a modern factory—yes, and sees too the slums on the outskirts of the city, which seem to be so essential a feature of modern civilization.

The significance of all this is that it does not mark the coming of a new civilization where one did not exist before. The problem of Japan is unlike the problem of Africa : it is that of the deliberate substitution of one type of civilization for another. Japan's cultural heritage is a great one, but she thinks she has seen a better and has decided to adopt it. It is inevitable that the process should be unsettling. But when, in addition, forces from the West are let

loose which West and East alike would fain control and cannot, who would dare to say that Marquis Okuma's description of his native land, written twenty years ago, is out of date to-day? He said: "Japan at present may be likened unto a sea into which a hundred currents of oriental and occidental thought have poured, and, not yet having effected a fusion, are raging wildly, tossing, warring, roaring." Before, however, we go on to study the spiritual demands of the new situation, let us pause to examine some of those old forces which have moulded Japanese life and character in the past and which cannot lightly be set aside.

CHAPTER II

Steadying Forces

Oh! that my nation may take her place among others by receiving what is good and rejecting what is bad.—Poem by the Emperor Meiji

ONE of the most solemn moments in the coronation ceremony in Japan is when the Emperor receives the three sacred Treasures. These Treasures have been handed down in the Imperial House from generation to generation, each veiled in profound significance. It is incumbent on the monarch to take them for himself as a sign that he has assumed authority as Emperor.

The three Treasures in question are the Mirror, the Sword, and the Jewel, of which the first named is the most sacred. The legend goes that when the Sun goddess bestowed "the land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain" on her grandson, she entrusted him with the mirror as the sign of his authority. The shrine at Ise, where this mirror is kept, is Japan's most sacred place, and no national event is allowed to pass without being duly announced to the imperial spirits within its hallowed precincts. The sword, which denotes courage, and the jewel, which is meant to represent benevolence or humanity, were added later. The mirror, however, is the most important of the three. Together they are to remind the Emperor of the spirit in which he is to rule his people.

The mirror may be said to denote assimilation, or unification, or reflection, though no single English word quite embodies the meaning. The idea is

The late Rt. Rev. J. S. Motoda

(*See page* 90)

The Rt. Rev. P. Y. Matsui

(*See page* vi)

The Central Theological College, Tokyo

Main Hall and Lecture Rooms ; Chapel just appearing on the left

(*See page* 106)

Reading the Newspapers in the Street, Tokyo

f. 25]

(*See page* 128)

that nothing should be rejected without careful examination, and it is believed that the images reflected in the mirror will, with an added clearness, show up the merits or faults of the object in question.

The mirror, however, is something more than this: it gives a true reflection of the Japanese temper. All down the ages, as Japan has come into contact with one nation after another—with Korea, then China, then India, and lastly with the nations of the West—she has applied this test to the civilizations which they represent. Their culture has generally been in advance of that of Japan at the time in question; and in consequence she has not hesitated to assimilate such elements in their civilization as she has seen fit; but, at the same time, she has been careful not to make an unconditional surrender to them. She has exercised her power of discretion; she has, as it were, used her mirror, and Japan has preserved her own independent and continued existence while other empires have come and gone.

This attitude of mind explains in part why, when Christianity was first introduced into Japan in the sixteenth century, it met with the success which it did. It was welcomed, not so much because it was a religion, but because it was an integral part of a civilization which was recognized to be superior to that of Japan at the time. The rapid advance of Protestant Christianity in the 'eighties was in part due to the same cause. The periods of reaction which followed in both cases were due to Japan's inherent reluctance to receive these new faiths without discrimination. Had this spirit not asserted itself, she would have found

her own civilization swamped by the onrush of this new one from the West. Indeed, after her first experiences in the sixteenth century, it was long debated at the beginning of the Meiji period whether this new civilization should be received at all, and the matter was not finally decided until blood had been shed. It was argued that the new forces, if once admitted, might prove too strong for Japanese culture, but when it looked as if these fears might be realized Japan's latent power asserted itself and the danger was averted. The three big wars which followed enabled Japan to get a fresh idea of her own natural strength, and, though to-day the desire for things western is as intense as ever, there is little fear that they will prove too powerful for assimilation. In other words, Japan will not receive them because they are foreign, nor will she reject them because they are foreign ; she will receive or reject them just in so far as she sees that they contribute to her national evolution. It may seem strange to an Englishman, with his strong English ideas, that at this stage Japan should decide to adopt the metric system in place of her own, or to take over English words by the dozen just as they are ; but these examples illustrate this essential trait of Japanese character. Such acts are not purely utilitarian, much less imitative ; they are the deliberate expression of a purpose.

It was from exactly the same standpoint that Japan in years gone by welcomed first Confucianism and then Buddhism. It was this same spirit which prompted the Emperor Meiji, when he took over the reins of power, to utter these memorable words : " Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all

the quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the Empire."

I

AS Japan has received these various contributions from other lands and civilizations, and adapted them to her own culture and environment, not infrequently the result has been that they have gained in their new setting. This is particularly true of Buddhism and Confucianism. Their real value has been discovered and developed to a degree far in excess of what they were thought to possess in the lands of their origin. Is it too much to say that a similar result may be seen when Japan has fully assimilated that new Faith which to-day is entering into her life? Will not the Japanese mirror show with added clarity the strong and weak points in that type of Christianity which has been offered to her by the nations of the West? May she not find in it depths hitherto unknown? That such a result is not impossible is indicated by the way Japan has discovered added depth in two of the cardinal virtues of Confucianism, namely benevolence and politeness.

Benevolence is set forth in the writings of both Confucius and Mencius as a virtue which may be said to be peculiarly royal. It takes its origin in the idea of filial piety, but it is carried to a higher degree. As Dr. Nitobe has pointed out: "In *Hsiao King*, the classic of filial piety, which has served as a sort of text-book for so many emperors in China and Japan, it is stated: 'Filial piety begins with the service to parents: it proceeds

to the service of the ruler: it ends with the perfection of one's character'; and again: 'When the sovereign's filial love is observed in its completeness, his example will affect all people, and he becomes a pattern to all within the Four Seas.'"[1] It is the element by which he shares his joys and his sorrows with his people. It lies at the bottom of that idea peculiar to Japan, by which the Emperor is regarded as the father of his people, and they as his children.

It was said of the Emperor Nintoku: "A sovereign lives for his people. Their prosperity is his enrichment; their poverty is his loss." An incident in his reign will illustrate the meaning of this saying. It is an old story, but it is one which always bears retelling. It is said that one day he and his consort climbed to a point overlooking the city of Naniwa (Osaka), which was his capital at that time. As they looked down on the houses of their people, they were impressed to see from how few of them smoke was arising, though it was at the time that the mid-day meal should be cooking. Further inquiries revealed that it was due to intense poverty. The Emperor therefore ordered the remission of all taxes for a period of three years. Once again he climbed the hill, and this time, as he saw the smoke ascending in all directions, he remarked: "Now I am rich." The Empress asked what he meant by saying that when the palace was in chronic disrepair, and her own robes old and soiled. The Emperor made his reply, so it is said, in a short poem to the effect that, as he looked on the smoke arising from the homes of his people, he

[1] *Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences*, p. 75.

realized that in their prosperity he also had become rich. It is this same idea which made the Emperor Meiji sing: "O God of Heaven, if there is sin lay it on me, for the people are all my children."

Japanese politeness is a virtue which to the western world has become proverbial. Indeed, it is carried to such lengths as almost to be a vice. Even to-day greetings, if properly given, must take several minutes. It is this trait which makes it a more serious offence to speak an unkind than an untrue word, and which dooms to failure from the start the policy of calling a spade a spade. A reproof is of value not so much for what it contains as for what it suggests. This attitude of mind is one of the hardest for a foreigner to understand, yet it is essential that he should appreciate it if he is really to influence those with whom he comes into contact. It leads often to situations which to the western mind seem dangerously compromising and there is no doubt but that it will be further enriched by the Christian ethic. But who will deny that it contains values which our faith in the West would be the richer for possessing?

There are two other Confucian virtues which have become part and parcel of the life of the Japanese people. They are embraced in the one word *chuko*, and denote "loyalty to one's lord" and "filial piety to one's parents." Loyalty lies at the back of that spirit of passionate devotion which binds the people to the Imperial House, and which makes Japan one of the most patriotic nations in the world. When an attempt was made some years ago on the life of the Prince Regent, the wave

of emotion that swept over the land was not only one of indignation at the baseness of the act, but also of horror that such a spirit should ever exist. Filial piety expresses itself in other ways than it does in the West. For example, it is the normal thing for the eldest son to have his old parents to live with him in his home. But even this virtue is open to abuse, for it is not uncommon for a girl to give herself over to a life of shame in order that by her earnings she may be the better able to help her parents.

When we come to examine Buddhism as it has evolved in Japan, how it has expressed itself in the life of the people, and how it has influenced their moral ideas and affected their faith, we find that it has progressed so far as to be something almost entirely distinct from its Indian ancestry. This is especially the case with those two Buddhist sects which have purely Japanese founders, Shinran and Nichiren. One of the first things that strikes a Chinese Buddhist visiting Japan is the vitality of Japanese Buddhism. In a recent congress of Asiatic Buddhists held in Tokyo, the leader of the Chinese delegation, in analyzing the special features of Japanese Buddhism as they appeared to him, said of Japanese monks: "Their minds being more susceptible to western thoughts and ideals, they are capable of making the Buddhist teachings acceptable to the modern mind." There is no doubt that Japan has put fresh life into the Buddhist ideas she received from Korea and China. It is all part of the assimilative process.

The fact that, despite the handicaps with which it started, the Christian Church in Japan has

already attained to a degree of self-government and self-expression far in excess of that of the indigenous Church in other non-Christian lands, is another evidence of the reality of this national trait.

II

THE sacred mirror, however, is a Treasure which in the Japanese mind is closely associated with its original donor, the Sun goddess. It is symbolic of light. The very name of the land which she bestowed on her grandchild is suggestive of this, for the ideographs for Japan are those for "sun origin." To a degree, even beyond the Incas of Peru, the Japanese are a nation of sun worshippers. With the exception of those who are Christians, or those who are so obsessed with the attraction of modern materialism as to lose all religious sense, the Japanese people as a whole, morning by morning, after washing their faces and cleansing the body, will turn to the east and in stated form will make their reverence to the sun. This idea is so strong at the New Year in particular, that if this duty has not been discharged there is a feeling for the rest of the day that something is wanting in the religious life. We shall never forget one morning on the summit of Norikura, in the Northern Alps of Japan, how a Japanese climber who was standing at our side as we waited for the rising sun tore his hat from his head with an almost feverish haste as the first rays shot across the sea of cloud below. To have stood covered at a moment like that would to him have been an act of sacrilege.

It is probably the same underlying idea which

makes the Japanese a nation of early risers. In Japan, at all events, there will be no need of a Daylight Saving Bill: her people are up at an earlier hour than those of any other civilized nation. This love of early rising makes the morning prayer meeting have a special appeal to Christian Japanese. It was an inspiring sight a few years ago to see hundreds gathered from all over Tokyo, morning by morning, for a six o'clock prayer meeting in preparation for the mission to be held shortly after throughout the city.

The various so-called "popular religions" which are in vogue at the present time, and which seem to offer a peculiar attraction to the less educated classes almost without exception emphasize this idea of light. Indeed, it is possible that Christianity would exercise a greater influence among them if its teaching of "the Sun of Righteousness" and "the Light of the World" were made the keynote of its message to these folk.

This spirit which rejoiced in light and sunshine came by and by to exercise a profound influence on the ideals of the knightly class of Japan, and this in turn has had an effect on Japanese life and character. But the central ideas of Bushido, the way of the knight, are those concerning the relation between lord and retainer. To a knight "rectitude is heavier than a mountain, life lighter than a feather." Bushido demands the power to understand clearly between right and wrong, and to act accordingly without wavering, even if it means death. It may even demand suicide as a means of satisfying honour. Only within the last two or three years an unknown Japanese committed *harakiri* in the grounds of the

American Embassy in Tokyo in order to show how strongly he felt the dishonour done to his people by the American immigration policy. It was an act fully in accordance with the spirit of Bushido. It is summed up in the words of the poem by one of its greatest exponents, Motoori Norinaga :—

> Should one ask me
> What is the soul of Yamato,
> This my reply :
> Behold the mountain cherry flower
> Glowing in the morning sun.

The idea is not merely that of the glory of the blossom as it catches all the rays of sunlight, but also of the scattering of the petals so soon to follow. As the Japanese proverb puts it : " The flower, a cherry : the man, a knight."

Though the knightly caste was swept away over fifty years ago, yet even before then, as a system of thought, it was percolating through to the lower classes. At the time of the Restoration its principles were so widely accepted that gangs of bullies, who then roamed at large, endeavoured to a certain degree to shape their actions by its standards.

When education finally became general, the central thought in the ethical teaching included in it was derived from Bushido, and, though as an organized cult Bushido has long since passed away, its influence is still clearly imprinted on the life and ideals of Japan to-day. In the present day it may be summed up in the words " fair play." Anything underhand or unsporting is utterly alien to it. At a dinner in honour of an athletic team it is usual to drink to " a good game " rather than " a successful issue."

III

THE worship of the sun reveals another feature of the national character, namely the love of Nature. To the westerner, born perhaps amid hard surroundings, where the soil is unfertile and the skies unkind, Nature is a thing to subdue ; to a Japanese, where the climate is warm and the soil rich, Nature is something to love and enjoy. There is no nation in the world which has a greater appreciation of the beauties of the countryside than Japan. Her people will go in thousands to see a waterfall, or the cherry blossoms, or the moon rising over the water. A recent competition started by a daily paper to select the eight most beautiful spots in Japan brought hundreds of thousands of replies. There is something in Nature which makes a peculiar appeal to the Japanese imagination.

This power of imagination, or " faculty of perception " as Dr. Nitobe has described it, is seen again in the Tea Ceremony, every action in which is pregnant with meaning. It is to the partaker a way of spiritual culture which brings him into harmony with Nature around.

There is a story told of its protagonist Sen-no-rikyu, who lived in the fourteenth century. As a small boy he was sent as an acolyte to a temple. One day a visitor arrived, and his priestly guardian sent the lad to put the garden in order. It happened to be the end of autumn, but the leaves were rather late in falling, so the boy went outside and shook one tree after another till the branches were bare and the ground was covered with leaves and the scene truly autumnal. He then returned to his

master and told him that he had done as he was bidden. Who shall say he was wrong?

The grounds of the Imperial Palace at Shinjuku, Tokyo, are divided into two sections: in the one, all the latest western horticultural methods are in evidence —the sweep of the lawns, the straight paths, the square beds, the rows of flowers, and everything else that delights the western mind; but the other half is as the divine Gardener shaped it. In this part stands the bower to which the Emperor Meiji used to go every week for meditation.

The temples and shrines of Japan are generally to be found in some quiet and beautiful spot, where the whole environment is conducive to a spirit of worship. The buildings themselves are often of the simplest character, and blend with their surroundings in a perfect harmony. Even the most sacred shrines of all at Ise are of extraordinary simplicity; they stand set in a grove of cryptomerias of eternal age. It was the spirit which such a scene produces which constrained Sankyo Hoshi, a well-known priest, when he visited the place, to break into this poem:—

I don't know what Presence makes me feel like this,
But I feel so overcome that I cannot keep back my tears.

This love of Nature leads to a love of simplicity. In a Japanese room there are but few articles of furniture, in marked contrast to the rooms of the West. It may be in part due to the fact that Japanese houses are of light structure and liable to fire, and for that reason things of value are best kept in the more substantial storehouse, separate from the main building. But the main reason is temperamental. In a

room, if there is but one scroll, or one ornament, or one dwarf tree, there is nothing to distract the attention ; the single object should of itself prove sufficient to give inspiration, and bring the mind into a state of composure. Its value lies not so much in what it is as what it suggests.

This idea permeates all Japanese art. It is seen in its poetry no less than in its pictures. There is a special form of poem which illustrates this very clearly. It is known as the *haiku*, and it consists of seventeen syllables only ; but they are syllables pregnant with thought. By the mere power of suggestion they bring a world of nature and of feeling into their purview. They inevitably lose much of their power when translated, but we will quote one or two in the hope that they may liberate some train of thought in the reader's mind to reach beyond what the words express :—

It's getting late and time to seek repose, but look at the wistaria !

. . . . . .

Rough waves and a bridge of stars to the island of Sado.

. . . . . .

Come and play with me, you poor little orphan sparrow.

. . . . . .

On a snowy day that boy who is collecting barrels is a man's child.

Shinto and Buddhism still claim at least the nominal adherence of the great majority of the people. The latter has many exotic elements, but the former is essentially indigenous. Shinto shrines are the purest forms of Japanese architecture. They exhibit to a very high degree the feature of simplicity. There are no idols in a Shinto shrine ; the Holy of Holies will contain a mirror or a stand or some simple object. The wood with which it

is made is unpolished and unvarnished, just left in its natural state. The priests are clothed in robes of simplest colour and design. The two Buddhist sects mentioned above have the same traits, but not to so marked a degree. As the poem puts it :—

> How thankful we should be to those pioneers
> Who preached the message for full fifty years,
> Clad in simplest robes of paper.

John the Baptist might almost have been a Japanese !

A thing which follows on immediately from this thought of simplicity, and one which has a very close connexion with it and has done much to shape the Japanese temperament, is the thought of a heart which reveres purity. This conception of purity or cleanliness, however, is æsthetic rather than moral. It is seen, for example, in the action of a man who approaches a shrine for worship. His first act will be to wash his hands and rinse his mouth at the laver at its side ; but he will not see anything wrong in wiping his hands on the dirty and much used towel hanging hard by.

A ceremony is held at the end of each year in the great Meiji shrine in Tokyo, when little pieces of sacred paper and linen are taken by the officiating priests and thrown over their shoulders, while a branch of the sacred Shinto tree, the *sakaki*, after being waved over the assembled worshippers, is broken into small pieces. The pieces of paper and linen and wood are then taken far away and thrown into the waters of the River Tama. It is all symbolic of the removal of transgression and impurity. The waving of a paper wand over the worshippers

at a Shinto festival is the commonest sight, but it contains the same idea of the removal of impurity. Another act having a similar import is the sprinkling of sand on the way the Emperor is to pass. At the funeral of the late Emperor the road from the palace to the station, and from the station to the mausoleum was covered with a thin layer of sand.

IV

AT the back of all these religious and æsthetic ideas, however, is the thought of "the imperial throne coeval with heaven and earth." The story of one Imperial House, coming down through the ages from the dim, distant days before history to the present time, has created in the Japanese an attitude which almost amounts to worship. He does not attempt to explain it or to reconcile it with modern ideas of monarchy. The thought of an Emperor as one whose ancestors won the throne by conquest is psychologically impossible to him. To him the Imperial House is a divine institution, its authority a divine gift. In the olden days the struggles between the various clans were not for the throne, but for the person of the Emperor. He who had the Emperor was in the right. For this reason, whatever may be the misfortunes that visit a country, however badly it may be governed, no thought enters the popular mind of laying any blame at the door of the Imperial House. If mistakes there are, they are due to the unfaithfulness of the retainer who has not fulfilled his lord's desires. He has become an obstacle to the relationship which should prevail between ruler and people ;

if only the people's will were known by the Emperor, and his Ministers had truly expressed the Emperor's will and his people's desire, all would have been well.

It was this idea which prompted the two recent cases of " direct appeal." In the first case, as the Emperor rode before one of his regiments after the manœuvres, a private soldier slipped out of the ranks, knelt down, and offered to the Emperor at the end of his bayonet a short letter. His act was done with profound respect ; the words were couched in the politest language. It was an appeal to the monarch himself to lighten the lot of the outcaste people of Japan, who are still liable to many petty persecutions and discriminations. Though his action did not meet with the public approval and he was punished, there is little doubt that his sacrifice will have its reward. In the other case a common labourer made an appeal to the Emperor to intervene in a strike, which had been carried on for seven long and bitter months, and in which the one side seemed determined to crush the other. He too was arrested, but his act ended the strike. The owners agreed to consider terms.

These two incidents show clearly how to the Japanese people in an inexplicable way the Imperial House is believed to be the embodiment of justice and righteousness, and is not in any way identified with absolutism, or class distinction, or capital. Among all the heroes of old whom the Japanese honour, none are held in higher repute than Wake-no-Kiyomaru and Kusunoki Masashoji. The former, rather than yield to the bribes of a Buddhist priest, who had ingratiated himself with the reigning Empress and aspired to the highest post in

the realm, brought back from the deity he had been sent to consult a message unfavourable to the priest's designs : " Since the establishment of the State the distinction of sovereign and subject has been observed. There is no instance of a subject becoming the sovereign. The successor to the throne must be of the Imperial Family and a usurper is to be rejected." His fearless action led to his disgrace and banishment, but his name has been held in honour ever since. Kusunoki Masashoji was the leader of the imperial cause when the Ashikaga chieftain aspired to rule the country. He died fighting against odds when his foes had offered him generous terms to make a dishonourable peace. Both of these men belonged to the common people, but they are still honoured by all because of their loyalty to the Imperial House, and their antagonism to those who would rule in their stead.

At the time of the Restoration, when the daimyo surrendered their power, if we look at the action from the inside it may be explained as due to the fact that they realized the strength of popular sentiment, but from the outside it was taken to be an act of loyalty in returning to the old order of government in which the Emperor was actually supreme. In the hour of crisis the one appeal above all others which will touch the heart of the Japanese nation is that of loyalty to the Imperial House. The Emperor is the father of his people, the embodiment of their life.

From this it will be seen that the nation is regarded not so much as a group of individuals organized into a single society, brought together by a common language or geographical bounds ; rather is it a

The Second "Rural Gospel School," 1928

f. 40] Mr. Kagawa is holding his hat : Mr. Sugiama is on his left hand

(*See page* 127)

The Garden Home

Fuse Hatako is the second on the right, standing ; Miss Tapson, the founder, is seated in the centre ; the clergyman is her Japanese colleague, the Rev. M. Ito.

family. If viewed from this standpoint, the so-called policy of "denationalization" in Korea is seen to be entirely in accord with the whole Japanese national idea. The sincerity of it is proved by the freedom with which Korean labourers are allowed into Japan. The presence of large numbers only serves to complicate the economic situation; but they are members of the family and it is not right to discriminate.

V

TO take another metaphor, the nation may be likened to a tree of which the Imperial House is the main stem. But the branches do not only grow outward; they also grow up. In other words, throughout them all is the idea of reverence for ancestors; the supreme duty of the Emperor is to perform these duties to his imperial ancestors. The common people have like responsibilities. Whether Buddhist or Shinto forms are used in the ceremony is immaterial; it is the performance of the act which is important. In a Japanese home there are to be found two family altars. One is dedicated to the sun goddess, and the gods and heroes, retainers and knights, who brought happiness to the nation; the other is in honour of the family ancestors. Both alike call for lavish attention and respect.

It is easy to argue that these are primitive ideas and have no inherent value; they will pass with time. But those who would so regard them fail to realize how deeply rooted they are in the life of the nation. What Christianity has to do is not to destroy them,

but to sublimate them. To many Japanese the Christian idea of a future life, as explained by some missionaries, constitutes a very genuine difficulty. What about the ancestors who have died without the knowledge of Christ? In a recent article on this subject Bishop Naide of Osaka wrote :—

I myself was, of course, born in a Buddhist home. My father and mother both died without the knowledge of God in Christ. I have, however, been home six times since their death to hold memorial services. When I was baptized the ancestral tablets were all burnt, so that there are no special tokens of remembrance which I can use. We sing a hymn together, after which I read from the Scriptures (Rom. ii) and we have some prayer. I believe that inasmuch as the soul is immortal and they died without the knowledge of God, He will, because He is love, save them in some way that I know not. I give those that have gathered together for the service the reasons for this my faith, and I tell them how I look forward to seeing my parents again in the life to come. I recount to them the various things that they did when they were alive, and, although I was but a child when I lost them, I say how I believe they are safe in God's keeping. We then have a simple meal together and talk about the loved ones, and those who knew my father and mother better than I did tell other things about them. These memories of a day that is gone bring them before the eyes of those who are present and touch our deepest emotions. The whole memorial service comes to have a very real significance, and is full of comfort; it is a very different thing to the formal recitation by a Buddhist priest of the masses for the dead.

These various examples which have been given show clearly that, despite all the clash of modern economic and other forces and the impact of western civilization on the nation as a whole, there are also other forces at work underneath, less spectacular,

maybe, but nevertheless of such a character as cannot be disregarded by those who would seek to interpret Japan. They possess a strength and wealth of tradition which will not easily bow to the more aggressive power of modern civilization; rather they will in a quiet way tend to mould and shape it according to the national temperament. Japan in her history has felt the impact of more than one civilization, but throughout she has pursued the path of her destiny. There is no reason why, despite the many changes in evidence on all hands, she should not continue to do so in future. Certainly the Christian Church cannot afford to neglect these less obvious currents of human life; nor should she seek to stem them. Rather she will seek to guide them along new channels, so that they may become powerful forces in the Christian life of the future.

CHAPTER III

The Christian Message

Though the valley brook may be hidden under the fallen leaves, it will become in the end the all sweeping ocean.—Japanese Poem

IN the face of conditions such as the two previous chapters reveal, a very natural question arises: What is the future of religion in Japan? Will Buddhism, true to its genius, be able to adapt itself and offer to the people a spiritual message suited to their new needs? Or will secularism prove so strong as to sweep away Buddhism, along with many other relics of the past which have proved powerless to resist its onrush? Will Shinto, which has shown its vitality by the way it has advanced in thought with the march of civilization, and which above all other religions in Japan has its roots planted firmly in the national life—will a new and reformed Shinto prove sufficient to satisfy the religious aspirations of Japan? Or is Shinto doomed to disappear as did the paganism of Rome? Again, will Bushido, the way of the knight, continue to inspire the Japanese youth as it did of old?

What hope is there for Christianity in face of these new conditions? It may command the respect, but will it touch the imagination and win the allegiance of a progressive people? Or will it continue to be, as now, admired by many but accepted by few? It is not sufficient to say that the Christian mission, because of its divine origin, must succeed. History, even the history of the Bible, does not warrant such an assertion. On more than one occasion the weakness of the human instrument

has frustrated the purpose of God. "To-day endless obstructions lie in the path of Christianity. Never in the course of its history has it had to fight so for its existence. It can bring this contest to a victorious issue only if it employs to the full the world-creating and world-transcending power which lies within it—only if it sufficiently distinguishes and then binds together the eternal and the temporal, the divine and the human."[1] The presentation of the Christian message therefore, is one that requires the very best thought, for it is not improbable that one of the reasons why Christianity has made relatively slow progress in Japan is due to the fact that its powers of attraction have not been adequately realized and used.

One thing may at once be said: this slow advance is not in any way due to a lack of spiritual desire on Japan's part. One of the most striking spiritual phenomena of the present day is what is known as *hammon*. It is a word difficult to translate, but it may perhaps be best described as a consciousness of a lack of spiritual adjustment. How general it is may be shown by the fact that a series of four articles on the Christian solution of the problem, which were inserted in a Tokyo newspaper, brought in nearly one thousand requests for further information. It is not surprising that such a state of mind should exist when it is realized how vital is the bearing on the spiritual situation of the present struggle between the old and the new.

Japan's life in the past was generally static. The clan and the class and the family stood for a tradition which it was the business of their members

[1] Rudolf Eucken, quoted in *The Challenge*, January 21, 1922.

to maintain. To this end religion proved an ally of the greatest value. But to-day all is changing. "Industry, science, and democracy are working their way in the Orient as liberalizing, emancipating, and elevating forces, but at the same time there is felt to be active a conflicting, disintegrating, and perturbing power. . . . What we want is a force and motive which will both fulfil the demands of activity and co-ordinate with the satisfaction of worshipful contemplation."[1]

I

IN the light of all this what message has religion for Japan to-day?

As has already been pointed out, one of the special traits in the Japanese character is the power of adaptation. This is true in things religious no less than in other matters. But in this case it is reinforced by that religious mentality, peculiar to the Orient, which is more susceptible to traditional or æsthetic influence than to scientific, and the result is a decided tendency towards syncretism. To the Japanese mind the historic basis of faith is of quite secondary importance; it is the teaching that counts. We remember a Bible class of higher normal students who, when invited to state what they considered to be the essentials of true religion, despite the most leading questions, resolutely refused to suggest a historic foundation. Of course, the classic instance in Japanese history of this syncretistic turn of mind was the identification of the Shinto deities with the incarnations of the

[1] Anesaki: *The Religious Social Problem of the Orient*, p. 51.

Buddha, the result of which is that even to-day millions of Japanese are content to be both Buddhist and Shintoist.

Two very well-known poems will illustrate this attitude. Genku, founder of the Jo-do sect of Buddhism, said :—

> The ways up the mountain are many,
> But the same moon is seen from the top.

While Sugawara Michizane, one of the heroes of old Japan, wrote :—

> If your heart is only in agreement with the way of truth,
> God will protect you, even though you do not pray.

In the latter the idea is that prayer and any such religious forms are unnecessary, provided you feel in some way in harmony with truth. In a recent book, entitled *Buddhism and Faith*, by a Japanese writer, the two sects of Zen and Shin are treated as complementary aspects of the same thing, whereas, as a matter of fact, their differences are so profound as to be almost irreconcilable.

The conception of religious truth, therefore, may be said to be subjective and abstract ; such things as an objective reality and a historic outlook are of secondary importance. It is this idea that lies at the bottom of what is known in Buddhism as " accommodated truth (*hoben*) " ; it is only because of it that Zen and Shin and other contradictory viewpoints can live together. When, therefore, faith is brought up against objective facts, the tendency is to extract from them such elements as seem desirable and to ignore the rest. This is particularly the case with Shinto, many of whose gods were actual living beings. It might be thought that

for this reason Shinto might have something of a historic basis. But the Shinto deities, though human in their origin, are conceived as different beings from what they were on earth. As human beings they may have committed many crimes and proved powerless in the face of temptation. But such blemishes are quite immaterial to Shinto believers. All that is necessary is to select those special features of their life and character which are worthy of admiration, to isolate them, if necessary exaggerate them, and then deify the result. For example, Taira Masakado, in the eighth century, who was a man of bad character and a rebel against his sovereign, is to-day one of the most popular gods of the Kanda ward in Tokyo, the reason being that on one occasion he distinguished himself in slaying a giant centipede which was terrorizing the district near the capital. How Shinto will fare when the methods of historic criticism are applied to it remains to be seen!

This tendency to emphasize one point at the expense of another leads to a further feature of popular religion, namely the belief in omens. The most common example, of course, is the inveterate belief in lucky and unlucky days. In non-Christian circles the selection of a propitious day for a marriage or any other such event, is a matter of genuine concern. A whole class of men exist whose profession it is to give advice on such subjects. Despite the advance of science, the belief shows no signs of weakening; indeed, the advertisement of an enterprising fortune teller may be seen frequently on the backs of the Tokyo tram tickets, in which he undertakes to give the necessary advice on modern scientific lines! As an illustration of this, the day

known as *tomohiki* (drawing apart—half bad, half good) is a bad one on which to have a funeral, as the word also means " to pull along together with " ! This " punning " leads to further superstitions, some of them quite harmless, but all having a far greater influence on the popular mind than parallel superstitions in the West. For example, it is a serious breach of etiquette to leave even one grain of rice in one's bowl at a meal, because in ancient days rice was also called " treasure," and it is wrong to waste treasure. When a French airman recently reached Japan he was given dried chestnuts and seaweed to eat, the reason being that the Japanese words for these condiments have also the meaning of victory and gladness, and so were appropriate to the occasion. No wedding to-day is complete without the emblems of the crane, the tortoise, and the threefold pine, bamboo, and plum. The last three are also conspicuous in the New Year decorations. The reasons are that the bird and the animal are supposed to live to a great age and so typify long life, while the pine is regarded as the strongest of the evergreens, the bamboo the straightest, and the plum the tree which blossoms in adversity. On one occasion a woman missionary brought some hydrangeas to decorate the church for the marriage of a Japanese friend. But they were speedily removed, for according to a Japanese proverb, that flower is supposed to change seven times, and so was a most unsuitable emblem for a ceremony demanding constancy !

These customs, however, begin to assume a less pleasing aspect when Buddhist thought has played on them.

It might have been thought that the power of selection and adaptation would have proved of special value in enabling Japan to choose those elements in foreign religions which were good and to reject the remainder. But, as a matter of fact, when Buddhism and Confucianism entered Japan, it proved impotent to do so: good and bad alike were adopted. This was particularly so in the case of Buddhism, with its doctrines of Karma and of illusion. Both of these lead to pessimism. The sea rovers who first peopled Japan might have produced a race like the British, with the *wanderlust* in their blood, and indeed at one time it seemed as if they would, but this disposition was completely suppressed by Buddhism. It put an effective damper on all spirit of adventure. It may be said without fear of contradiction that Japan's greatest curse is the spirit of resignation, so much in evidence in the little sentence: "*Shikata ga nai* (it can't be helped)" which may be heard on all occasions.

When these two ideas of fate and omens are combined, superstitions begin to assume a more bodeful appearance. There is one which is much in the public mind at the present time in connexion with what is known as the year of the fiery horse. In olden days Japan adopted the Chinese calendar. By it time is divided into sixty-year periods, which in turn are divided into five periods called after the elements, fire, air, water, *etc.*, consisting of twelve years, each called after the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac. Now it is a common belief that the year-name of one's birth has a peculiar influence over one's destiny. The year 1907 was that of the fiery horse. For a man to be born in that year is

all right, but for a woman it is all wrong, for Japanese tradition says she may end by devouring her husband. "An amusing superstition," somebody says; but when it is realized that many girls to-day are unable to marry because of the year of their birth, and not a few of even good families have committed suicide because of this evil luck, it can be seen that there are more sinister aspects of superstition in Japan than are perhaps realized abroad.

There is, however, another and more potent cause underlying the tragedies mentioned above. It is the low conception of married life. Marriage in Japan is not a thing of romance; nor is it "ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort that the one ought to have for the other." If it were, fiery horses would be relegated to the abode from which they came. Marriage even among the upper and educated classes is a transaction arranged by the elders, the main purpose of which is the continuance of the family. In the circumstances, though superstitions may be merely superstitions, yet, as the field of selection for brides is wide, it were better to take no risks.

II

THIS disregard of personality, especially of women's personality, is not native to Japan. On the contrary, the country itself by its own tradition claims to be descended from a goddess, while one of its Empresses led the first foreign expedition on which it ever entered. In the olden days women were treated with respect: many of the greatest poets of the time were women, while others

attained to high political rank. The most famous anthology of the period, the *Manyoshu*, reveals a state of society in which romance flourished, but with the coming in of Buddhism the idea was introduced that woman was to be despised as an unclean thing. Women were not allowed to approach the most famous temples. The idea of Shinran, the founder of the Shin sect, that Buddhahood ought to be open to women as well as to men was revolutionary. Even to-day the leaders in reformed Buddhism are certainly conservative in their attitude to women, though women folk form the most devoted followers of the Buddha. In an article on the subject of the position of Japanese women, that appeared not long ago in a magazine devoted to the propaganda of Buddhist ideals, all reference to religion was conspicuous by its absence. In the most popular text-book on the behaviour of women, the influence of which is only now passing away, it is said that for women " There are three ' obeys ' : as a child to her parents, as a wife to her husband, as an old woman to her son." In another passage it says : " A woman has no home in the three worlds except her husband's house "—the three worlds being the world she left behind, the present world, the world to come. Both of these mottoes are based on Buddhist teaching.

Confucianism only served to strengthen this attitude the more. According to Confucius : " Women are people hard to bring up " ; they are of an inferior calibre, and are not supposed to have a will of their own. It must be said in fairness that the lot of Japanese women on the whole is a happy one ; they get both freedom and social position, but they have not to thank their religion for these blessings.

This tendency to disregard women's personality was even more marked among the samurai. In contrast to his brother in the West, the Japanese knight was expected to avoid all association with womenfolk if he was to preserve his valour. The idea of romance was absent ; his sense of chivalry was dwarfed. Dignity of bearing was of prime importance, and this implied a contempt for the common people, who only existed for his convenience. Money, of course, was filthy lucre. What concerned him was loyalty to his feudal lord. This attitude put the whole system of life on a false foundation. Despite many admirable points, the ethics of Bushido were lacking in some most essential features. Yet, since the whole of Bushido centred in the idea of loyalty, it might be thought that it was a system which at all events laid emphasis on personality ; but, as a matter of fact, those who had direct dealings with the feudal lord were relatively few ; for the rest loyalty and obedience were an unwritten law, instead of a spirit of devotion inspired by personal contact. As a result Bushido became a code which inspired a clique rather than an ideal to set before society in general.

This spirit, thus bred, in turn gave birth to fresh abuses. For example, since money as a thing in itself was to be despised, those who handled money were worthy of the same contempt. This idea became so common that tradesmen came in time to regard themselves as belonging automatically to an inferior class. It is this attitude which explains many of the sordid features of Japanese commerce to-day.

Again, this disregard for personality showed itself

in a lack of a sense of responsibility towards the members of a lower class, and this in turn gave birth to suspicion. As the Japanese proverb puts it: "When a man goes out, he may expect seven enemies," or, again: "If you meet a man, regard him as a robber." This led to another link in the chain, by which it was considered that morals and ethics had no binding force when you met people you did not know. As the saying puts it: "On going a journey you can leave your morals behind." It has a strange air of Kipling about it! As a result of all this, we see to-day that, while the Japanese are strict about etiquette so far as private matters are concerned, good form is not considered of such importance in public life. Indeed, there is a common lament of the lack of public morality.

All these various faults may be traced back to the Buddhist idea of fatalism. But one which has had even more far-reaching results is the conception of illusion, the emptiness of human existence. "The sound of the bell of the temple of Gion tells of the vanity of all deeds" is a familiar quotation from the famous book *Heike Monogatari*. "All effort is like the foam in the sea"; "Man's so-called success in the end is but the begetter of his sorrows"; "Led by fate, to-day's victory may end in to-morrow's defeat"—are all common sayings which show the Buddhist conception of the impermanence of all things. If life be of this character it is clear that the highest attitude of mind is one which takes things as they come and is free from all outside distraction.

It is quite obvious that the idea of personality cannot flourish as long as ideas such as these receive

general acceptance. Though an attempt has been made in recent years to restate this doctrine in less impersonal terms, there is no doubt that it has been a dominant factor in forming the Japanese character. Creative personality has received a severe setback; a lack of originality and of the spirit of adventure has been a direct result. Further, if ultimately everything is impermanent, why bother to think of anything except the immediate present? Does Japan's reputation for political opportunism, and the lack of a far-seeing statesmanship, spring from the same cause? Is it not possible that in it is to be found an explanation of the poor quality of Japanese exports, despite the Government's attempt to bring about an improvement? Or of the indifference with which markets are gained and lost?

These beliefs and customs and superstitions, together with those elements described in the previous chapter, have all helped in the past to build up the Japanese character and meet her religious quest. Even to-day, with the advance of science and the incoming of western civilization, they still represent spiritual forces which cannot be ignored; they have made too deep an impression on the Japanese soul to be erased in a few short years. The younger Buddhist leaders in particular are fully awake to the new situation, and show signs of a readiness to make a radical reinterpretation of their faith in order to bring it more into harmony with the needs of the present day. They, no less than the Christians, are aware of the incubus of superstition which is perhaps the greatest curse of Japanese Buddhism at the present time. Whether they will succeed in getting rid of it is another question.

But the important point to note in all the various aspects of current belief, referred to above, is the impersonal idea which permeates all. Whether it be the frank impersonalism of the Buddhist idea of God, an impersonalism which is not afraid to call itself atheistic, or the depersonalized deities of the Shinto pantheon, or the superstitions which while centering in individuals have no historic basis, in one and all there is little or no thought of the value of personality. Buddhism frankly rejects the whole idea of the value of personality as belonging to a lower type of religious belief. The faithful are supposed to attain to something above the plane of personal existence. Buddhism is ever ready to meet the higher critic by informing him that the area of his studies is one which Buddhism has long left behind : a historic basis for faith is the requirement of a lower mind ! And yet the one dominant fact of the whole religious situation in Japan to-day is the awakening sense of personality !

III

NOW in seeking to answer the question whether Christianity has a message for the present time, and in considering what that message may be, there are two lines of approach. It is possible in the first place to say : Here is the Christian message ; see if you cannot find in it something that will satisfy you. The other way is to say : What is it that you feel you really need in your present condition ? Let us see whether Christ has something to meet your need. It is possible that the tendency hitherto has been rather to present the Christian message along

the former line. It is our intention to examine it from the latter standpoint.

Miss Macdonald, the well-known prison worker in Tokyo, on one occasion was visiting a man lying under sentence of death. He was uneducated, and he had heard nothing of Jesus Christ except what she had told him. As she rose to leave, she turned to him and said: "Remember, God loves you." "Yes," came back his reply, "I'll never forget you." He was interpreting his faith in terms of his experience. Can Christianity be interpreted in terms of the experience of Japan to-day?

As we have seen, the dominant factor in the whole religious situation in Japan is the awakening sense of personality. The primary cause of this is the disintegration of the family system. While it would be a gross exaggeration to say that it no longer plays a big part in the life of young Japan, its influence is visibly weakening. Perhaps the outstanding cause of this is modern education. This, as has been pointed out already, tends to create a type rather than a personality, and the product of this system after the years of school life, maybe in a strange environment, is simply not prepared to settle down to the petty limitations of home life. Even though he may not be conscious of a definite mission, and may be disappointed at his failure to reach his ideals, yet he will never go back to the old system; or, if sheer weight of circumstances compel him to do so, he will take care that his children do not!

This growth of individualism can be seen in many directions. The somewhat crude examples of western art which are to be found every year in the exhibitions in Ueno tell of young artists trying to

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break off the shackles of oriental tradition and express themselves in new terms. The realistic school of writers which flourished at the beginning of the present century, and whose influence has not yet passed, revealed the same tendency. The lower classes, who in the feudal age existed as serfs, neither possessing rights nor expecting them, under the influence of modern industrial life are awaking to a sense of their powers. In the great strike at Kawasaki dockyard in 1921, one of the demands of the men was stated thus: "What we desire is that the company should recognize our personality and help in rendering our lives less difficult." The steadily growing number of disputes between the tenant farmers and their landlords, which constitute one of the most ominous symptoms of the rural problem, is evidence of the same awakening. Though the Japanese Labour Movement is relatively small, yet it is fully alive to the advance of Labour in the West, and one of the reasons why it is so divided at present is that it is suffering from an overdose of individualism. A first-class rag in the Ginza, the Oxford Street of Tokyo, after Keio University had succeeded in defeating their rivals, Waseda, at baseball, was a sign of the same spirit, and that in spite of the rigid structure of the Japanese educational system.

IV

THIS quest for self-expression has had a profound influence on the religious outlook. If young Japan has any faith at all it must be one which will satisfy these new longings. It is not

only religious indifference which explains the attitude of the average educated man towards Buddhism at the present time. It is because he is conscious that Buddhism lacks something for which his spiritual being longs. *Les Misérables*, *Quo Vadis?*, Tolstoy's novels, and books of that type, which are studies of personalities from a Christian standpoint, have an enormous sale in Japan. It is this same groping after the personal which explains the success of the study of Shinran in Kurata's *The Priest and his Disciples*—a study of Buddhism's greatest saint in almost Christian terms! It is a striking fact that, of the 16,000 books lent from the circulating library of the New Life Hall, no single class is in greater demand than lives of Christ. There is comparatively little desire for books on Christian doctrine. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the whole emphasis in Buddhism is on "the teaching."

Now the spiritual significance of all this is that the younger generation is looking for a faith which will satisfy this awakening consciousness of individuality. Such a faith must be personal in its content, if it is to meet the need. Men and women will not be satisfied with vague systems of doctrine and belief. Somehow they feel there is a touch of unreality in such: they do not enter into their daily personal experience.

May we not say that in that supreme Personality, Jesus Christ, Japan will find the object for which she is looking? The teacher has always held an honoured position in Japanese thought, not merely for what he teaches, but for what he is. Once Japan realizes the character of the Teacher of Galilee, feels

the attractive power of His personality, and discovers how intimate a Friend He may be, may we not expect to see results? We remember some years ago discussing Fosdick's *The Manhood of the Master* with a small group of non-Christian students. The book is one which avoids all dogmatic statements as to the divine nature of our Lord. But, even before the class had finished, the members were ready to believe anything that was required about Jesus Christ. They had found by their study of His joy and His sympathy, His courage and His indignation, and the like, a Personality Who met their inmost need.

Despite the growth of the competitive spirit, with all its selfishness and nationalism, there is a latent but very genuine spirit of service in Japan. Buddhism, one is almost inclined to say despite its tenets, has done much to foster this, and though, like Christianity, it had to pass through its "seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," yet to-day it is doing social work to an increasing degree. One of its outstanding, and at the same time most independent, figures is Nishida Tenko, a man whose whole life is spent in unselfish service for others, and who has not incorrectly been described as a Buddhist St. Francis. He is profoundly dissatisfied with the present social system and is endeavouring to reorganize it on a basis of service and non-possession.

Immediately after the great earthquake Kagawa, the evangelist and Labour leader, started relief work in one of the stricken slum areas of Tokyo. He began with three workers. Within an incredibly short time he had over fifty from one of the leading universities in Tokyo. It was an inspiring sight to see these men running bath houses and barber shops, managing

milk depots, and dispensaries, caring for the children, ministering to the suffering, and doing anything that came to hand, not for pay or glory, but for the sheer love of service. At that time Kagawa formed a small society known as " The Friends of Jesus," whose members are pledged to prayer and service. To-day it has over 1300 members, and this despite a three-year novitiate.

A missionary up-country engaged in newspaper evangelism conceived the idea of getting the inquirers to work. He suggested that they should join him in organizing a campaign against the system of licensed vice prevalent in the prefecture. The proposal was greeted with enthusiasm, and in 1927, the fifth year of the campaign, these inquirers and their friends had secured over 35,000 signatures to a petition against the evil, while more than half the members of the Local Assembly, recognizing the force of the movement, had pledged their vote in favour of abolition! These incidents are but illustrations of that spirit of service in Japan to-day which is waiting to be tapped. But does not its very existence have a vital relationship to the Christian message? Each of these movements owes its inspiration to an individual who is filled with the desire to serve others. His call has touched an answering chord in the hearts of his followers, his example has stimulated them to action, his personality has encouraged them to persevere. May it not be that the call of the Christ, of the One Who " came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many," is one which if emphasized in Japan to-day will evoke a ready response from her younger generations?

Writing of his experience in Honjo after the earthquake, Kagawa says :—

> On November 1, as it was beginning to get dark, a young man, clad in workman's garb, came to the barrack. He was one of 240 carpenters sent to Tokyo by a big building company in the provinces. During a leisure hour he had climbed the hill in Ueno Park, from which he could get a view of the city below. As the destruction unfolded itself before him all thought of making money fled. The odd *yen* he had made he brought with him to our tent. "It isn't right to make money in Tokyo. Please use me in relief work. I don't want any money ; here's all I've got." And so he joined us, working day by day, filling his measure of consecrated labour from five in the morning till eleven at night, putting up kitchen buildings, making desks, and boxes for fuel, and all with the enthusiasm of a man who does such things for the first time. And as he worked he hummed over and over again to himself the hymn :
>
> God is love : His mercy brightens
> All the path in which we rove ;
> Bliss He wakes and woe He lightens,
> God is wisdom, God is love.

The idea of sacrifice is written deep in Japanese character : soldier for Emperor, retainer for lord, wife for husband—it is a virtue which fires the imagination of all. It is the theme of much of its literature and poetry, and it is the dominant note in many of the great passages of its history. There is no story which appeals more than that of Sakura Sogoro. He was one of the village elders in Shimosa. In 1643 the old daimyo was succeeded by one coming from another part of the country. The newcomer adopted a much sterner policy of taxation, with the result that the village suffered greatly. Some of them could not pay at all, and Sogoro helped them out of his own pocket. For two years this state of affairs continued, till he himself was reduced to

poverty. He had an idea that the party responsible for the state of affairs was not the daimyo himself, but some of his underlings, so he decided to make a direct appeal to his chief, who was staying in Yedo. His appeal was successful, the people were relieved, but he himself was crucified as a law-breaker because he paid taxes for others, which was against the law; further, he appealed on their behalf on his own authority, and he had the audacity to make that appeal a direct one.

Though the Cross may be a stumbling-block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks, yet in certain aspects it is an inspiration to the Japanese. Never shall we forget an experience we had some years ago in West Japan. The occasion was a tent mission held in a somewhat sleepy country town. The tent itself was packed with a crowd of men and women. A missionary was speaking. He was telling the story of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Though for a foreigner he had a ready command of the language, yet here and there were unmistakable foreign notes which could not but jar the ears of his listeners. But the hush in the tent, and the almost breathless silence of the multitude as they followed one incident after another of that awful scene, left an impression on our minds which we shall never lose.

About twenty-five years ago, one Sunday morning after church, a missionary sat down to his mid-day meal, and a schoolboy was announced. As such visitors often come with requests for instruction in English, the missionary did not hurry to see him, but went on quietly with his lunch. When it was finished he went along to find out what he wanted, but soon saw that something was wrong. The

boy tried to tell him of an account of the Cross of Christ which he had just read, but he could not. He broke down. That Christ, his Saviour, should die for him —it was too much! The boy's name was Kagawa.

At a closing meeting of a mission held in another city, one of the leading clergy of the Church in Japan took as his subject "Buddhism and Christianity." Point by point he compared the two religions, noting how many there were in common, till we almost wondered what he was driving at; such arguments are often used to prevent inquirers becoming Christians. Then suddenly he paused—"But Buddhism—it hasn't got the Cross; it simply hasn't got the Cross."

The message of the Cross of Christ is Japan's supreme need to-day. With, on the one hand, the unbridled lust for money and rank and pleasure, which seems to be eating as a canker into the soul of old Japan, destroying all its finer qualities and putting nothing in their place; with, on the other, the cup of human suffering mounting higher and higher as men and women and children find themselves caught in an economic system from which there is no escape, young Japan is apt to grow perplexed and dissatisfied, and even cynical, but "the story of this strange Man upon the Cross awakens familiar echoes within his heart. He hears a language he has known all his days. It tells of wrong done to man by his fellow-men; of sorrow which is borne with patience; of the defeat which a just man meets in a world like this, and yet of the victory which he snatches out of defeat."[1]

It is quite possible that Buddhism may in certain aspects be more suited to oriental minds; that,

[1] *The Times*, April 8, 1922.

as has been often stated, a Japanese has no very deep sense of sin ; that he may be unemotional and best reached by the intellectual approach ; but the story of the death of Jesus Christ gives him a new conception of self-expression, namely, of a self which is lost in redemptive work for others. Family circumstances or social conditions may have conspired to repress his awakening personality, but the Cross of Christ enables him to regard things from a new angle ; the very sacrifices he is being forced to make have in themselves formative values which are fitting him for greater usefulness in the years ahead. Above all, the sense of a common experience, which the Cross evokes, binds him to One Whose friendship is going to prove the most tremendous influence in the whole of his life.

At the beginning of this chapter reference was made to that strange spiritual phenomenon, so common in Japan, which is described by the word hammon. This frame of mind is well illustrated by a letter received at the New Life Hall in Tokyo from a naval cadet. He wrote :—

> Just at present I am leading a life of illness in hospital. It is already some months since I came in : and how many more it will be I know not, as I have got pleurisy. The path in front is utterly dark and I am just alone in my misery. As I think about things at the present time, I feel man needs to rely on somebody who is above him. I want peace in my heart, and as I face the future I want to find the light.

But it is not only illness and uncertainty about the future which give rise to such sentiments ; a consciousness of moral weakness, a sense of dissatisfaction with society and no means of remedy,

hopelessness in face of difficult circumstances, and the like, all produce hammon. It is the result of a sense of spiritual isolation and impotence. Indeed, is it not possible that hammon is the Japanese expression of the sense of sin, such as St. Paul experienced? To some people the discipline and meditation of Zen may provide a way of escape, though not a solution of the problem, but to most such methods are impracticable, if not impossible. The powerlessness of popular Buddhism, indeed, in face of modern social conditions is too patent to need argument. It is more concerned with the next world than with this. What men are looking for is a spiritual power which is demonstrated in the school of experience.

May it not be that this power is to be found, as St. Paul found it, in the message of the risen Lord? It is certain that in Japan to-day there are a steadily increasing number of men and women who are finding it there? Indeed, the moral power in Christianity is recognized even by those who make no profession of being Christians. If the Cross offers a new way of self-expression, the Resurrection invests personality with a new power such as the present conditions demand. Without it, events may prove that the overweening power of the family in the past has only given way to an unbridled individualism in the present, and that the last state of Japan is worse than the first.

Such, then, is the Christian message—Jesus Christ, the Son of man, the Servant, the divine Redeemer, and the risen Lord. Does Japan realize, as yet, Who is in her midst? It almost seems as if she does not, or she might have turned to Him sooner.

CHAPTER IV

The First Attempt

We've tried to be sincere in word and deed and have exhausted every means to state a clear and truthful case : but all in vain. Now may the god that sees the hearts of men approve of what we do.—

Poem by the Emperor Meiji

ONE summer day in the year of our Lord 1549 there landed on the shores of Japan a small company of travellers. The Chinese junk which had brought them had had an exciting voyage since it had left the port of Malacca, in Malaya, some seven weeks before. What with storms and pirates and a captain who was loth to take risks, it had seemed on more than one occasion as if the little expedition would never reach its goal, but finally, after many days of anxiety and uncertainty, anchor was cast off the city of Kagoshima and the long journey was over.

Among those who entered the city that day were three men, whose faces, if not their dress, showed them to be natives of the country. One had fled it but two years before, a fugitive from justice, and in the course of his wanderings had reached the Indian city of Goa. Here he and his companions were baptized into the Christian faith, and now, accompanied by their teacher, they had come back once more to their native land. With them came three others, foreigners, men of Spain. The youngest of the three, barely in his twenties, had only recently heard the call of Christ to give up the luxury of a rich merchant's life in his own country, and had turned East. The second, who wore the

garb of a priest, was destined to give twenty unbroken years to the land of his adoption. The third, a man of middle age and scion of one of the noblest families of Navarre, had in his undergraduate days come into touch with that remarkable man, Ignatius Loyola. Under his inspiration he had readily sacrificed all thought of preferment at home to carry to the regions beyond the story of his Redeemer. He had taken the long voyage round the Cape to India ; thence he had pressed on to Cochin, and then to Malacca. His restless soul had looked farther, towards that island of Zipongu, of which strange stories had been brought back by a Portuguese merchant, Pinto. His longings were quickened by the unexpected meeting with the Japanese fugitive, but it was not, however, till nearly two years later that Francis Xavier—for it was no less than he—was able to set foot in Japan in the name of Christ.

Ninety years later, after a siege of nearly one hundred days, the castle of Shimabara fell before the troops of the *shogun* (the military dictator) and its defenders—men, women, and children—37,000 in all, were put to the sword. It marked the end of a long struggle between the civil authorities and those who had embraced the faith which Xavier came to preach. From that time onwards Christianity was a proscribed religion and Japan a closed country. The survivors of a band which had at one time numbered 300,000, were forced underground, and not until two hundred years later were their descendants able once again to confess their faith. What had happened to cause so noble a mission to end in so dire a tragedy ?

I

AFTER Xavier's reception at Kagoshima and the baptism of the first converts, he pushed north to Hirado, the head-quarters of the Portuguese trading settlement. Here the respect shown him by his fellow-westerners made such a profound impression on the people that over a hundred were baptized in the course of a few days. Leaving them in charge of one of his companions, he pressed on to Yamaguchi, a city on the main island, where in fearless terms he rebuked the moral laxity of its ruler and people. The well by which Xavier used to stand is to be seen to this day.

But Xavier was anxious, above everything else, to carry the Gospel to the court of the Mikado, who lived in the city of Kyoto, three hundred miles away. The " everlasting whisper " kept drumming in his ears :—

Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look beyond the Ranges.
Something lost beyond the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go.

Undaunted by the difficulties of the way, he set out in mid-winter for the capital, and after a trying journey, in the course of which he was compelled to join the retinue of a Japanese nobleman, he at last reached his goal. But his mission was fruitless. Unknown to the people, with no credentials, stained by the rigours of the journey, and handicapped by a language he could never master, he could not secure the interview he sought, so he returned to Yamaguchi, there to think out fresh plans. He decided to give up his garb of poverty, which the

Japanese did not understand, and instead to present his letters from the Viceroy of India, and to assume something of the status befitting an envoy. The plan succeeded, and the Daimyo of Yamaguchi readily granted him freedom to deliver his message and placed at his disposal an empty Buddhist monastery. Henceforward Christianity held a recognized position in Japanese councils.

Not long after, Xavier received an invitation to visit another of these chieftains, the Daimyo of Bungo, who received him favourably and offered him every facility for his work. The former's motives were not purely religious ; he had a good harbour for foreign ships. Xavier took advantage of the presence of one of them to return to Malacca for reinforcements. A year later he was dead ; and Torres and Juan de Fernandez, his two companions, were left alone in charge of the work in Japan.

From that time onwards the progress of Christianity was steady. Fresh missionaries, who had been stimulated by Xavier's reports, arrived in Japan, and by 1581 there were over 150,000 converts, including several of the daimyo. Within eight years of Xavier's departure the priests were received at court, and work was begun in the capital itself. Nobunaga, the most powerful man in Japan, showed himself markedly in favour of Christianity. This attitude was maintained by his still greater successor, Hideyoshi ; so much so that the heir-presumptive became a Christian, and there seemed every hope of winning Japan for Christ, when suddenly the blow fell.

Coelho, the vice-principal of the mission, was presented with an ultimatum by Hideyoshi. Almost

before an answer could be given, an edict followed ordering the missionaries to leave Japan within six months, and yet another, forbidding Japanese subjects to accept the faith. The orders, however, were not put into immediate effect ; on the contrary, the number of converts increased rapidly, until by 1595 there were over 300,000. But two years later opposition began in earnest, and twenty-six men, Japanese and foreigners, were martyred at Nagasaki. The other missionaries were rounded up, where possible, for shipment out of Japan at the first opportunity. These measures, however, were not carried through very seriously, and most of the missionaries were able to stay under the protection of such daimyo as were favourable to their religion.

Ieyasu, who succeeded Hideyoshi, was at first inclined to adopt a lenient policy towards Christianity, but later he too was forced to undertake sterner measures. Christians were ordered to abjure their faith. Christianity was stamped out of the capital, and any missionaries who were caught met with a summary fate. Gradually the noose got tighter ; more and more were called on to suffer for their beliefs, many recanted, but still Christianity persisted. In Kyoto word went out that the Christians were to appear before the Governor's office on a certain day, bringing with them stakes to which they were to be tied for their burning. The notice was in itself a warning to escape until the danger was overpast. But at the time appointed they came, not in twos or threes, but by the hundred. One poor woman who could not afford to buy a stake sold her girdle to purchase one. They were glad of the opportunity of suffering

for their Lord. When it was found that martyrdom, while it killed individuals, won crowds, other devices were invented. In one place the expedient was tried of tying the Christians in sacks, and notifying them that any who would but turn round as a sign that they recanted, would be pardoned. By this means it was hoped that individuals who were ashamed of taking the step before their fellows might be induced to deny their Lord, for nobody would see their action. But in vain; in private no less than in public they remained true. Only by tricks of more devilish cunning were some at last persuaded; and who would dare condemn? The unequal struggle could not continue indefinitely. In one last effort the Christians in the fief of Amakusa, goaded on by social and economic wrongs, broke into rebellion. They were hemmed in on the Shimabara peninsula, and, with their death, Christianity in Japan, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist. It is estimated that between 1614 and 1635 a quarter of a million Japanese suffered for their faith.

II

WHAT was it that accounted for this amazing growth and almost equally amazing collapse? How was it that the attitude of the authorities underwent such a remarkable change? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to take a cursory glance at the political and social conditions that prevailed at this time. Though the Emperor was still the titular ruler of the country, such central authority as existed was vested in the shogun, who ruled nominally in his name. The

house of Ashikaga, which had provided the shogun, had for two hundred years completely mismanaged affairs, and everything was reduced to a state of chaos. Each petty chief was his own master till another overthrew him. None owed any allegiance to the central power beyond what they cared to offer. The capital itself was the scene of continued strife. The one organized body was the Buddhist priesthood, which showed itself more proficient in the profession of arms than the practice of religion. From their mountain fortresses above Kyoto the priests kept a watchful eye on the administration, and took such part in it as they saw fit. In consequence of all this, religion was at a low ebb; to the mass of the people it was a political force rather than a spiritual inspiration.

It was amid such conditions as these that Nobunaga, the first of a series of men who were to unite and save the country, was born. His first policy was gradually to rally round him such of the daimyo as would accept his leadership, and to crush others that stood in his way. He was fortunate to be called in to help the shogun in one of his many struggles, and this fact gave a measure of authority to his ambition. Unfortunately for them the Buddhist priests sided with his enemies, and Nobunaga was able to visit on them a terrible vengeance. As a natural result of their action, Nobunaga, whose sole motives were political, saw in the Christian missionaries and their converts, and especially such daimyo as were favourable to the faith, allies of particular value. This was the deciding factor in his attitude to the new religion; Christianity was to be given every encouragement.

When Nobunaga had fallen a victim to treachery, Hideyoshi succeeded him, and maintained his predecessor's policy both of uniting the country and of utilizing the new religion for this purpose. Though in the main the Christian daimyo supported Hideyoshi in his campaigns, yet the evidence of their iconoclastic zeal in Kyushu, and, in the case of one of them at all events, his greater devotion to the priests than to his chief, revealed to Hideyoshi the fact that they were not such an asset as he supposed. On the contrary, Christianity by claiming a larger loyalty than Hideyoshi desired, might actually become a disintegrating force so far as his policy was concerned. This suspicion was skilfully fostered by foreign merchants who sought Hideyoshi's favour at the expense of their rivals; but they little foresaw what would be the result of their intrigues in the end. Not only was Christianity finally suppressed, but foreign trade was also prohibited. It is true that Ieyasu made an attempt to continue the trade while banishing the missionaries, but so close had become the relations between the two that it was found impossible. The door was closed and bolted. When two years later a company of Portuguese merchants from Macao made an attempt to enter, fifty-seven of them were executed and the survivors were sent back with the message: "So long as the sun warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself, or even the very God of the Christians, or the great Shaka (Buddha) contravene this prohibition, they shall pay for it with their heads."

III

IN looking back on the events of those days the thought suggests itself: Could this tragedy have been averted, or, taking all the circumstances into consideration, was it inevitable? It is easy to be wise after an event, especially two or three centuries after. If we are to derive any lessons from the story of those days it is essential to keep in mind two things: firstly, that we are dealing with men who were ready to give up their all, even life itself, for their faith. To them the Gospel was no academic matter to be weighed with the cool precision of the scientist; it was a message of life and death to the people of Japan, and they acted accordingly. Secondly, actions should be interpreted by the standards of the age in which they are committed; it is not fair to measure the ideals of one century by the standards of another. For example, religious toleration was unknown in the sixteenth century. Bearing these principles in mind, let us look at the underlying causes of this glorious tragedy.

In the first place, as the sketch above shows, the political factor was decisive. Japan was emerging from her dark ages, and a succession of exceptional men held the reins of power. As long as Christianity was useful for their purpose it was to be favoured; when it had served its end it was dispensed with. As long as Japan could assimilate it, all was right; when it threatened to assimilate Japan it was another matter. There is unfortunately little doubt that the missionaries were keenly alive to the possibility of the political situation, and though they did not

take a prominent part, yet at times their actions were compromising. This was in keeping with the Roman idea, which saw in the Pope a dispenser of political as well as spiritual benefits. No opportunity was lost of impressing on the Japanese embassies which visited the West the greatness of the papal power. But the result was not what was intended; it lent added weight to the remark of the Spanish merchant captain to Hideyoshi: "Our kings begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer *religieux*, who induce the people to embrace our religion; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent which combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest." Though things never reached that pass in Japan, yet certain fiefs which had become Christian did not hesitate when they thought fit to show a greater obedience to their religious than to their political leaders.

Closely allied with this was the relation between the missionaries and foreign trade. Even Xavier sought to make capital out of this connexion, as is shown clearly in a letter from him to the Governor of Malacca. Later missionaries carried this policy even farther, using their influence with the merchants as to which ports to enter and which to avoid, according to the attitude of the local authorities to the faith. It followed as a result, that, while some governors courted Christianity for its trade, others rejected it when trade did not materialize. Xavier himself was obliged to leave Kagoshima in the first instance for this reason.

Another cause of the local antagonism was the

violently hostile attitude that the missionaries and their converts took towards the Buddhists. It is true that the Buddhism of that day was much more of a political than a religious force, and that its priests were generally men of low morals; but from the first Xavier and his followers made a frontal attack on their religion in no uncertain terms. His letters reveal a fiery spirit which could not fail to rouse their antagonism. This spirit, of course, was not confined to relations between the Christians and the Buddhists. "In 1537 the Nichiren sect and the Tendai sect (two Buddhist sects) had a difference over some knotty point of doctrine, and in the course of the debate not merely the Nichiren temple, but half the metropolis of Japan was reduced to ashes."[1]

At Yamaguchi and elsewhere, Xavier started his work in this negative fashion. Strange to relate, two of his outstanding converts were the result of his debates with the Buddhist leaders. In one fief, at least, the daimyo on his conversion demonstrated his zeal by a persecution of his Buddhist subjects with the result that 20,000 became Christians in seven months. It is only fair to note that, when the tide turned, 12,000 of them remained faithful. Xavier's first visit to the capital had proved a failure, but an opportunity came later, and he and his companions were introduced to the shogun through the good services of the Buddhist priests, yet they did not hesitate to denounce their benefactors when an opportunity presented itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that when later Christianity became the victim of its own quarrels,

[1] Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, vol. II., p. 21.

the Buddhists were not slow to take advantage of things.

There was no single cause which militated more against the success of the enterprise than the quarrels among the missionaries themselves. Pope Gregory XIII had ordered that Japan was to be regarded as the special field of the Jesuits. But the Franciscans and Dominicans, urged on by Spanish rivals of Portuguese traders and jealous of the success of the Jesuit mission, began to devise plans to enter. Finally, under pretext of an embassage from the Governor of Manila, a party of Franciscan fathers entered Japan. Once in the country, they stayed there. Their arrival marked the beginnings of quarrels among the Roman missionaries ; these spread to their Japanese co-workers, and did not cease even in face of persecution. Indeed traces were found two hundred and fifty years later, when Japan was once more opened to the Christian message. Such were the results of a lack of comity in the seventeenth century.

It will suffice to mention two other factors which in part explain the failure of a mission so nobly conceived and so gallantly undertaken. The one was the lack of thorough preparation of many of the converts. When Xavier first entered Hirado a hundred converts were baptized after ten days' work. Of the 125,000 Christians in Kyushu in 1581, 115,000 lived in those fiefs whose rulers had become Christians. Indeed, a few years later, in Osaka, Christianity became one of those fashionable religions which blossom out even to-day into an ephemeral existence. While all honour is due to the thousands, the majority, perhaps, who remained

firm during the fiercest fires of persecution, yet the presence of so large a proportion of backsliders could not but have an adverse effect on the life of the Church.

The other factor was the failure of the missionaries to develop native leadership of the first calibre. It was left until the year 1927 for the first Japanese to be consecrated a bishop in the Roman Church. The civil authorities were quick to recognize this, and from the first their chief aim became to drive out the missionaries. The power and position were in their hands ; once the Church was deprived of their presence and leadership, it could not long survive. This surmise was correct.

The causes of failure as suggested above, re-interpreted in the light of modern conditions, are not without their lessons for to-day. Indeed, they illustrate the truth of Emerson's remark : " The use of history is to give value to the present hour and its duty." But at the present stage it will suffice to mention them. To what extent they have been heeded will be considered later.

But, lest this attempt to analyse the reasons for the failure of the first mission should appear to crowd out its glory, we do well to remember that the age was one in which men and women were literally " tortured, not accepting deliverance . . . others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments ; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword ; they wandered about . . . destitute, afflicted, tormented (of whom the world was not worthy)."

Simon Takeda, a government official, was ordered

to commit an act which was tantamount to a disavowal of his faith. He refused, and, with his family, was sentenced to death. In view of his position and his rank as a samurai, he was permitted to suffer the penalty in his own home. With the quiet dignity which befitted one of his rank, he made his own final preparations, and then, turning to his wife, he said: "The hour for separation is come. I go before you, and thus show the road by which you should reach Paradise. I hope that ere long you will follow in my footsteps." He then bowed his head in knightly fashion to receive the fatal blow. Later that day his mother and wife rejoined him; they were crucified.

CHAPTER V

The Renewed Effort

Under the raised sword it is hell indeed, but make a charge and you will find it is heaven too.—Japanese Poem

IN the year after the great earthquake, a small church was dedicated to the service of God on the outskirts of Tokyo. It was not a very pretentious building; indeed, it was little more than a Japanese house, and cost only £150 to erect. The money had been contributed to the diocese by the Government to help in the work of reconstruction, and as a sign of appreciation of the uplifting work of Christianity. The service was taken by Dr. Motoda, first Japanese Bishop of Tokyo, at whose initiative the land had been rented and the building put up. The catechist in charge was once an artist who, in his younger days, had had his religious sense quickened by one of those sects which have risen out of the native religions in protest against their spiritual somnolence. The desire thus roused had finally found its satisfaction in Christ. His understudy was an official in the Social Service Bureau of the city. Among other members of the congregation were two old men, both over eighty years of age. More than half a century before one of them used to write anti-Christian notice boards, while the other, who was one of the first Christians in modern Japan, had suffered cruel imprisonment for his faith. A little child sat on the floor in front.

That little "church in the house of" Umemoto

presents an extraordinary microcosm of the Christian Movement in Japan during the past seventy years—persecutor, confessor, seeker, native leader, government official, and a little child. As we joined in worship that autumn afternoon we could not but ask ourselves : What will that little one see when she is old ? As great a change as has been witnessed by the old men at her side ? Let us look back and see how great has been the measure of this change.

I

IN the seventeenth year of the reign of Victoria the Good there anchored off the coast of Japan some men-of-war. They had been sent by the American Government to demand the right of shelter for her ships engaged in the China trade. For over two hundred years Japan had been shut off from all intercourse with the outer world. She had pursued a policy of deliberate isolation. One Dutch vessel, and one alone, was allowed to visit her shores annually. Others which from time to time had endeavoured to persuade her otherwise had met with summary warning. But on this occasion America showed that she meant business. After many delays the shogun bowed to the inevitable, and the treaty was signed. The long night had passed ; dawn was at hand.

It is true that for some years it was doubtful whether the Emperor would endorse his ruler's action ; conservative opinion at the court was strong. The tension between Emperor and shogun during the years previous to this event had been growing, as scholarly research had shown that the

latter was in reality a usurper. The clans, which had long submitted perforce to the power of the military chief, saw in the new state of affairs an opportunity of overthrowing their foe. But the shogun, who realized that his action placed him 'twixt the devil and the deep sea, anticipated his enemies by surrendering his rights to his monarch. His action was the signal for others to follow, and thirteen years after the arrival of Perry's " black ships " Japan was united under one ruler.

In the meantime a fresh struggle was going on at the imperial court. The conservative party were doing their best to persuade the Emperor to sign an edict to drive out the foreigners ; certain events showed the more liberal elements the utter impossibility of such a policy ; and one of the first actions of the new Emperor was to receive the accredited representatives of foreign nations at his court in Kyoto. The die was cast. From that moment there could be no going back.

Events followed one another with bewildering rapidity. In 1869 the young Emperor Meiji took what has been termed his " charter oath," by which he promised to call a deliberative assembly so that " all measures should be decided by public opinion "; but perhaps the most significant clause was that quoted above, which said that " wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world." It was some years, however, before this resolution could be fulfilled. The first duty of the new régime was to effect the consolidation of the nation, so that it might be the better fitted to receive the new life to which it was pledged. Various internal reforms were enacted ; among the most important

of these was an entire reorganization of the political divisions of the country, by which the old daimyo fiefs were abolished, and the introduction of a system of national education. At the same time a mission composed of some of the leading men in the Empire was sent abroad to see things at first-hand. In all these actions there were two foreigners whose influence stood out above all others, Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister, and Guido Verbeck, a missionary. Both were the trusted councillors of the makers of new Japan.

On the return of the mission from the tour, Japan went to school with the West ; foreign experts of all kinds were employed. Britain helped Japan with her navy and her railways, her telegraphs and her banks. France assisted in the development of the army and the formation of a legal code. Germany gave her a constitution and medical science. The United States gave her the beginnings of her modern educational and postal systems. " Foreign learning " became words to conjure with. In the meantime the Emperor and a small body of extremely able men were at work on the constitution, and were preparing for the task of representative government. Finally, in 1889 the former was promulgated, and a year later Parliament was summoned. One of the most significant clauses in the new constitution, and one over which the greatest battle was fought, was that granting freedom of religious belief.

Not many years had passed, however, before other forces of a different character began to make themselves felt. Clouds of national and patriotic feeling began to appear on the horizon. The impact of

the West in the 'eighties had been largely superficial but by the 'nineties it was beginning to touch Japan's soul. It was inevitable that the nation which had thrown everything away in a mad scramble for foreign learning should in her quieter moments realize that in her old heritage there were also elements of value. Her sons, who in their youth had placed themselves under foreign tutors, were now capable of managing their own affairs. The presence of aliens in her midst, with their own concessions and law courts, reminded her that she was not yet mistress in her own home. Russia began to appear as a menace on her horizon. The action of France, Germany, and Russia, by which she was robbed of the fruits of her victory over China, showed her that she must trust more to her own arm henceforward if she was to take a worthy place in the comity of nations. The giving up, however, of extra-territoriality in 1899, which the Powers had possessed since their first relations with Japan, followed by her victory over Russia five years later, restored her to a more normal frame of mind; and from that day onward she has taken an increasing part in the affairs of nations. Trade, the great war, the League of Nations, and international congresses of one kind and another have all served to bind Japan closer to the nations of the West, until to-day she holds a place among the great Powers.

Such, in short, is the stage upon which the Christian drama has been acted during the past seventy years. It is necessary to have a clear understanding of this if the Christian story that follows is to be appreciated.

II

THOUGH the coming of Commodore Perry was the immediate cause of the Restoration, he only liberated forces which had fast been gathering momentum during the period of peace under the Tokugawa régime. In Japan religion has always depended to a certain extent upon official patronage. Buddhism gained the position it did by a stroke of genius on the part of Kobo Daishi, who discovered a certain alleged identity between the manifestations of the Buddha and the native deities. This theory, however, had been severely shaken by the researches of Shinto scholars, who had discovered in the old religion the rightful position accorded to the Emperor. The disestablishment of Buddhism was one of the first acts of the Emperor Meiji.

Christianity, on the other hand, was under the official ban. This was not so much due to its religious doctrines as to the fear of its political consequences. The teaching of Christianity had often been winked at provided Christian terms were avoided. The political fear, however, was very real. The Daimyo of Mito put forward as one of his chief reasons against foreign intercourse that "notwithstanding the strict interdiction of Christianity, there are those guilty of the heinous crime of professing the doctrine of this evil sect. If now America be once admitted into our favour, the rise of this faith is a matter of certainty."[1] The Japanese officials at Nagasaki informed the Dutch envoy that they were ready to allow foreigners the right of trade provided Christianity and opium were excluded.

[1] Nitobe: *Intercourse between the United States and Japan*, p. 39.

It did not require much insight to see that these fears were based on ignorance ; so in 1858 an invitation was sent by certain American naval chaplains in Japanese waters to three of the home Churches to send missionaries. A year later they arrived. It is almost impossible for us to imagine the conditions confronting them. They were watched by government spies, and intercourse with the Japanese was difficult in the extreme. The old man referred to at the beginning of this chapter was only able to obtain entrance at the back door by night under the plea of being the dustman. To speak of religion in public was impossible ; in private the hearer would apply his hand to his throat to show the peril he was facing. That these fears were not groundless is shown by the banishment in 1868 of over 3000 Christians, descendants of Roman converts near Nagasaki. They were scattered all over the Empire, and more than one paid for his faith with his life.

Despite these restrictions, the pioneers made good use of their time. Hepburn started on his dictionary, which for many years was the standard work on the language ; Verbeck taught foreign languages under official patronage, and made use of such openings as occurred to teach the Bible as well ; others quietly sold Christian literature in Chinese, which was the *lingua scripta* of the time. With the spirit of inquiry in the air, there came young men of the samurai class, and, though only ten were baptized in as many years, yet when the danger was passed the first people for whom they called were the missionaries.

Though conditions were gradually getting easier,

it was not until 1873, as a result of the Iwakura mission, that the anti-Christian notice boards were officially withdrawn. Even then the Government was careful to announce that it was only done because, having been up for two centuries, their meaning " was sufficiently imprinted in the people's mind." There is no doubt, as the political correspondence of those days shows, that there was a genuine fear on the part of those in authority that the new conditions might lead to a revival of the hated religion. This explanation served to save the official face, yet the people at large, no less than the missionaries, fully understood the significance of the action. From that time Christianity was free. An immediate result of this was an increase in the number of both missionaries and converts.

The first missionaries to reach Japan had been two members of the American Church Mission, and when the hope of reinforcements grew slender, on account of the civil war in the United States, a request was sent to the Church Missionary Society for aid. But it was not until 1869, ten years after their arrival, that the first missionary of that society, the Rev. G. Ensor, landed in Japan. Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel followed in 1873. Since then there has been a steady stream of missionaries of all denominations.

The most open-minded section of the population at this time was the younger samurai. In the reorganization of the State they had been thrown on their own resources, and as a result were compelled to seek a living. It was an experience utterly new to them. It was but natural, therefore, that they should turn to the new learning to help

them in their changed circumstances. It was they who composed the members of Verbeck's school; it was from among their number that the makers of new Japan were found; and it was they above all others who became the first members of the Church. In one of his letters Verbeck refers to Okuma (afterwards Prime Minister), and Soejima (afterwards Minister of Foreign Affairs), who were studying the New Testament with him, and tells how, on their own initiative, they recognized the intimate connexion between Christianity and the thought and ideals of the West.

The men who were destined to be the leaders of the Christian Church, like those in the State, owed an irreparable debt to the foreign teachers of this period. The Kumamoto band in South Japan and the Sapporo band in the north are two conspicuous examples. The former, forty in number, under the lead of an American teacher, banded themselves together to give their lives to the work of the Kingdom in Japan. They were called upon to face immediate persecution, but most of them stood firm. Ebina, the president of the Doshisha University in Kyoto, and Kanamori, the well-known evangelist, still survive. In the north, under the influence of Dr. Clark, the founder of the Agricultural University in Hokkaido, a similar band took a like pledge, and to-day Nitobe, of League of Nations fame, Sato, president of the Hokkaido Imperial University, and Uchimura, the leading Bible expositor in Japan, remain to testify to the genuineness of their decision.

All these men were students of government schools, but the missionary societies were fully

awake to the opportunities placed in their hands by the new policy of universal education. With the best will in the world, no government could put so comprehensive a programme into immediate effect. For many years the demand was likely to be far in excess of the supply. Consequently we find that it was during these early years that nearly all those Christian schools, which to-day hold an honoured position in the nation's life—the Doshisha University, St. Paul's University, the Aoyama and Meiji Academies—were started. The Bishop Poole Memorial School for Girls first saw the light in 1879, when Miss Oxlad began work with fourteen children in a rented house in Osaka. It was one of the earliest private girls' schools in Japan, though six years previously the Government had started one in Tokyo for the daughters of gentry, which later came to be known as the Peeresses' School.

Among the many schools which were opened at this time but afterwards came to an end, was St. Timothy's School in Osaka. It was under a missionary of the American Church Mission called Ting. To it one day there came a young samurai belonging to the Arima clan in Kyushu. He had already attended a local school, where he had gained some knowledge of Christianity from the books on ethics used there, which had been translated from the English. Like many another boy, then and since, his ambition was greater than his means, and he was only able to secure admission as a servant. But by doing various menial tasks in his spare time he was able to put himself through school. While there he was baptized. Forty years later Joseph Sakunoshin Motoda was consecrated first Bishop

of Tokyo. His experience at that time shows how keen was the desire for education, for before entering St. Timothy's, when only 16, he had already been head master of an elementary school.

The year 1880 saw the completion of the translation of the Japanese Bible. The task had taken eight years, and, though the New Testament has been revised since then, the original translation has been recognized as perhaps the best piece of translation work that has been done.

The steady growth in the number of Christians soon made the question of church organization a vital one. The first congregation had been formed in Yokohama before the removal of the notice boards, but it was not until some years later that an attempt was made to bring these various isolated churches into a single organization. An effort was made to avoid the reduplication of western divisions by forming one united Church for Japan ; but it proved unsuccessful, and first the Presbyterian, then the Congregational, and finally the Anglican came into existence. More will be said in a subsequent chapter of the events which led up to the founding of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai.

During the period the number of Christians in Japan was increasing by leaps and bounds. In a single decade it had multiplied tenfold. The indigenous Church had come into existence. Japanese leaders were coming to the fore ; Christian literature had secured a ready sale ; the spread of education was serving not only to remove many of the surviving prejudices against Christianity but also to reveal its vital relation to the life of the West. Nakamura, a Christian scholar, occupied the chair

of English literature at the Imperial University in Tokyo; and an unexpected ally was found in Fukuzawa, Japan's outstanding educationist, who has been described as "the intellectual father of half the young men who fill the middle and lower posts in the Government of Japan." He made no profession of being a Christian himself, though he employed missionaries in his school and entrusted the care of his son to a missionary of the S.P.G.; but he had a keen eye for the main chance, and strongly advocated Japan embracing Christianity in order to take a better place in the comity of nations. This view on the part of a man, the circulation of whose writings ran into millions, made a profound impression. People began to ask whether, ere the century had closed, Japan might not be a Christian nation. But already stronger forces were at work to prevent any such action being taken as that suggested by Fukuzawa. The Church had yet another trial to face.

The anti-foreign reaction which came over Japan in the 'nineties was fully felt by the Christian Church. Was not the faith itself from abroad? Were not its teachers chiefly foreigners? Was it not largely foreign money which controlled the Church?

Perhaps no single element in the national life felt more acutely the coming of the Christian faith than the Buddhist. From the time that the Jesuits made their frontal attack in Yamaguchi, all down the years when the Buddhist priests were those first responsible for seeking out the followers of the "evil sect," up to the time that they had the mortification of seeing the notice boards removed just when Buddhism itself was "disestablished,"

their attitude had been one of ceaseless antagonism. As the new faith spread, on all hands it found itself called upon to face Buddhist opposition. The Christians started schools, the Buddhists started rivals to them. The Christians published books ; so did the Buddhists. They even went so far as to translate books like Paine's *Age of Reason*, which would be as destructive to their own religion as to that of their foes. Dr. Inoue, of the Imperial University, who might be described as a liberal Buddhist, made a strong attack on Christianity on nationalistic grounds, and advocated a sort of syncretism. He was probably on firmer ground so far as the former point was concerned, for the adjustment of the Christian religion to the Japanese conception of nationalism had been a slow process. As Dr. Nitobe points out : " When our constitution proclaims the imperial authority as ' sacred,' ' divine,' ' inviolable,' and ' eternal as the heavens ' . . . such terms belong to a religious category."[1] The interpretation of the Imperial Rescript on Education only served to complicate the issue. Christian apologists were not lacking, but the controversy was of such a character as to yield to time rather than to logic.

The Japanese Christian leaders felt keenly the anti-foreign movement. From the first they were suspected by their own people of being in foreign employ, and by many of the foreign missionaries as being too prone to accept liberal ideas. Some of them, it is true, went to an extreme which led to their secession from the Christian Church. One of the results in some of the churches was an attempt to frame a policy of immediate financial

[1] *Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences*, p. 86.

independence. The effort, however, was premature, and in later years the arrangements were modified.

Another problem that arose at the same time was the relation of Christian schools to Government. In the early days, when the authorities could not cope with the demand, private schools were welcome. Viscount Mori, the Minister of Education at that time, was a man of Christian character and outlook. But in the 'nineties, when the national system of Education was more firmly established, a determined effort was made to bring about an entire separation between education and religion. The ethical text-books were re-written from a purely secular standpoint. The teaching of religion was forbidden in all recognized schools, even out of school hours. Some concessions were secured, but the position was extremely difficult. The Doshisha University was nearly lost to the Christian cause by the action of its governing body, who seemed more anxious to accept the demands of the authorities than to adhere to the principles of its founders.

But the reaction soon spent its force, and, looking back, it is now possible to say, in the words of Dr. Wainright, one of the veteran Christian leaders in Japan, that through it: "The Japanese Christians were made aware of the intrinsic values of the religion of Christ. The distinction became clear to them between Christianity and western civilization. The reaction gave to the churches a better knowledge of the recalcitrant forces of human nature and human society. The churches were led to concentrate more upon the elements which constituted their true strength."[1]

[1] *The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire* (1919), p. 27.

Since the opening of the twentieth century Christianity in Japan has entered smoother waters. The general attitude has become more normal. The growth of the Church has been steady, if not rapid. In the course of twenty-five years the Christian population has nearly trebled. But it is a very open question whether the results are commensurate with the effort expended. For though Christian influence is increasingly felt, yet only one in every two hundred of the population has felt its power sufficiently to confess his faith in baptism.

III

FINALLY it may not be out of place to consider some of the wider aspects of the Christian Movement during this more recent period.

In the first place, the years have marked a steady growth in general knowledge about Christianity. The evangelistic work at the Osaka exhibition at the beginning of the century brought the Gospel before nearly a quarter of a million people. The three years' evangelistic campaign following Edinburgh, 1910, reached half a million. The preaching night after night for thirty years at the C.M.S. Whidborne Hall, Tokyo, has reached untold thousands. The enormous increase in reading and the circulation of Christian books have not been without effect. Christian articles in the newspapers are carrying the message into the remotest bounds of the empire. All this is of value in creating a new attitude towards Christianity.

Or, to take another example: Christianity has

always stood for an international outlook. At times in its career in Japan it has had to fight hard to maintain it. But to-day Japan is becoming internationalized to a degree which the West hardly realizes. In what western capital were " specials " issued day by day describing the progress of the naval congress at Geneva? Japan is taking her full part in international conferences. She is supporting the League of Nations with a zest which puts many western peoples to shame. Is it too much to say, in the words of Dr. Yoshino, one of the outstanding publicists in Japan : " The international spirit of all Christians, which for many years was suspected of being alien and hostile to the Japanese national spirit . . . is now openly recognized as the spirit of new Japan "?[1] Or, again, to quote the words of Prince Tokugawa, chairman of the House of Peers : " The prevailing popular conception of mankind and humanity, and of liberty, equality, and fraternity, may be traced to Christianity."

The change in the public attitude has been reflected in that of the official. In 1914 the Minister of Home Affairs summoned a religious conference to discuss certain moral problems. At it Christians were accorded an equal position with Buddhists and Shintoists. In the Religions Bill of 1926 Christianity was definitely stated to be one of the three religions of Japan. At the time of the coronation of the late Emperor, of the fourteen educationists honoured by the Government, seven were Christians. To-day Christian social service receives considerable financial assistance from the

[1] *Japan Speaks for Herself*, p. 13.

Government, while the attitude of the education authorities towards religion shows a complete change.

In short, Christianity in Japan to-day, though its adherents be comparatively few, is thoroughly indigenous. The thought of it as a foreign religion is now almost entirely confined to the remoter country districts. Though it is still quite common for non-Christian parents to refuse to allow their children to be baptized, yet this is almost entirely for family reasons. That such a result has come about is largely due to the growth of the Japanese Church, led by Japanese leaders and supported by Japanese money. Persecution has given way to toleration ; toleration has led to approval : approval has won recognition : will recognition lead to faith ?

It has been our good fortune on more than one occasion to watch the sun rise from one of the higher peaks of the Japanese Alps. At first all is hushed and still ; " darkness is on the face of the deep." Then a faint glow is seen in the east, almost imperceptible, but there nevertheless. Bit by bit it brightens, and here and there the country below becomes visible. Then in a moment all is transformed as the sun rises in its majesty and touches with its glory the ocean of clouds below. But an hour later the scene changes again ; the vapours in the valley are rising, and bank after bank of cloud shuts out the sun's rays. What will the day be like ? The clouds have now passed, but will the setting sun reveal a land lit with the glory of God ? We know not, but we are filled with a great hope.

CHAPTER VI

The Church in Japan

To have wisely developed the organization . . . of a church, neither oppressing it by the multitude of its rules and societies, nor allowing its energies to run to waste for lack of them, is to do a work without which the highest spirituality devoted solely to the ends of converting and edifying the souls of men will in part at least fail of its aim.—Bishop Edward Bickersteth, pastoral letter, Lent, 1894

UNDER God, the future of Christianity in Japan rests with the Church of Japan. Though Christian ideas may permeate the life and literature of a nation, and though Christian standards may be adopted to an increasing degree, history has shown that, unless there is a nucleus to whom these ideas and standards are primarily a matter of faith rather than one of convenience, the danger of retrogression is very real. Indeed, even the existence of a Church is not sufficient; its spiritual condition is of paramount importance.

If, therefore, we are to answer the question: What is the future of Christianity in Japan? it will be necessary first to answer the questions: What is the position of the Church in Japan? and: To what extent is it fulfilling its trust?

When the first Protestant missionaries came to Japan in 1859, they came to what was still almost a closed land. Though they were able to do a certain amount of quiet work in rigidly defined areas, yet, beyond the baptism of an occasional convert, it was not possible to do anything in the way of organizing a Church. In 1872, however, the year before the withdrawal of the anti-Christian

notice boards, the first Japanese Christian Church was established at Yokohama. In the hope that it might be the beginning of a Japanese Church unhampered by western divisions, it was given the name of " The Church of Christ in Japan," and was deliberately not affiliated in any way to any foreign denomination. A few months later this action was endorsed by a conference of missionaries of several societies, but the Anglican and Greek missionaries in Japan did not attend, although they were invited. The idea, however, proved in the end to be impracticable, and was finally abandoned, though the Presbyterians still retain the original title as a sign of the hope that one day there may be realized that ideal to which the Church and missionaries in Japan sixty years ago were unable to attain.

As soon as the notice boards were removed, there was a rapid influx of missionaries of all denominations. As a result Churches of all kinds came into existence, until to-day, despite the joining together of various groups having similar church principles, there are twenty-seven different church organizations maintaining a purely independent existence.

I

OF these twenty-seven organizations, six account for over eighty per cent of the total Christian constituency, and as they are making by far the larger contribution to the Christianization of Japan, it may be well to look at them briefly one by one.

Both in point of view of size and age, the Roman Church comes first, with some 90,000 members.

About half of this number are to be found in Nagasaki prefecture and are descendants of those who first confessed their faith over three hundred years ago. There are some villages there which are wholly Christian, in which the church, and not the temple, is the most conspicuous building, a condition without parallel anywhere else in Japan. It is for the pastoral charge of these Christians that the Rev. H. Hayasaka was consecrated at Rome in 1927 as the first Japanese bishop of the "Catholic Church of the Lord of Heaven," as the Roman Church in Japan is called. The Church itself is true to type in its rigid organization and discipline, and, despite some of the best Christian educational work in the country, its progress compared with the Protestant Churches is so slow that one cannot but wonder whether it represents a type of Christianity which makes much appeal to modern Japan. Exception must be made, however, in the case of the monasteries. These institutions, on account of their atmosphere of peace and separation from the world, draw many applicants from all classes and of both sexes who are seeking a way of escape from the rush of modern Japanese life.

The Russian or Orthodox Church owes its existence to the labours of one man, the late Archbishop Nicolai, one of the greatest missionaries of modern Japan. He first came as a chaplain in 1861, and when he died, over half a century later, he left a Church of close on 30,000 members, scattered right through Japan and centring in the great cathedral in Tokyo, one of the sights of the city. In such esteem was he held by Christian and non-Christian alike that during the Russian war he was

allowed to continue his ministry in Japan unhampered. His mantle has fallen on his successor, Archbishop Sergie, whose evangelistic spirit and catholic outlook inspire all who come in contact with him. There are three special features of this Church. The first is the emphasis on an indigenous ministry. Unlike other bodies, it has from the first relied almost exclusively on a Japanese ministry under a foreign bishop. Archbishop Nicolai never had more than two or three foreign missionaries ; Archbishop Sergie has less. The second point has been too great a dependence on foreign funds. What has been lacking in personnel has been made up in cash. The consequence is that the revolution in Russia has hit the Church very hard. The work has been nearly at a standstill during the past decade. Lastly the emphasis on worship, particularly by means of the human voice, helps to supply a very real defect in much of the Christian life of Japan.

The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches may well be considered together, as they have many features in common. Indeed, at one time serious proposals were made for their union, but the negotiations came to nothing. Both owe their origin to the work of American missions, and both have kept clearly in front of them the ideal of a purely Japanese Church, not only unhampered by foreign control, but also entirely unrelated to any Churches in the West. Indeed, the term Presbyterian is only now used here for convenience, as no English equivalent exists for the Japanese title, though in organization this Church resembles the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. As a result of this policy the relation between the indigenous Church and the foreign

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missionary society has been one which has not proved easy of adjustment, and, although the situation to-day is considerably better than it was some years ago, it is generally recognized that a final solution has not yet been reached. The tendency has been to distinguish between church work and mission work on the understanding that when " mission " churches reach a certain degree of self-support they become full members of the native Church. The result of this has been, on the one hand, to place workers in " mission " employ in what they feel to be an inferior position, and, on the other, to confine the activities of the native Church to the larger centres where self-support is more easily attained. This has been particularly the case with the Congregational Church, some of whose earlier leaders made heroic sacrifices in order to build up churches independent of foreign aid from the first. With regard to doctrine, the Congregational may be said to be liberal, while the Presbyterian is conservative. Indeed, when the " Church of Christ " was first founded, it took as its basis the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Heidelburg Catechism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Canons of the Synod of Dort ! This basis, however, was later substantially modified, and to-day it consists of the Apostles' Creed with a short preamble. The Presbyterian Church is the strongest of the Protestant Churches in the country, and numbers among its members some of the outstanding leaders in the Christian Movement.

The Methodist Church, which is the latest of the " big six " to be organized as a single Church, was formed in 1907 as a result of the uniting of three

of the five Methodist Churches formed by different American and Canadian Methodist missions. The Church is episcopal in government, the bishop being elected for a period of four years. There is no time limit to the length of pastorate, but at the same time considerable authority rests with the bishop over the movements of workers, which makes it perhaps the most highly centralized Church in the country. For this reason it has been possible to carry through several nation-wide campaigns with a large degree of success ; indeed, this Church has shown a more rapid growth during the past ten years than any other Christian body. Emphasis is laid on Christian education and social service, and the relations between Church and mission have been most cordial.

II

LASTLY we come to the branch of the Anglican Communion in Japan known as the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, or, " The Holy Catholic Church of Japan." The story of the English mission in Japan has one unique feature, it was not led by a bishop ! True, the Rev. C. M. Williams, of the American Church Mission, was consecrated bishop in 1866, with jurisdiction over China and Japan, but the English missionaries were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, over 1500 miles away. It was not until they had been at work for fourteen years and churches had been established in various centres that the first English bishop was appointed in the person of the Rev. A. W. Poole, of the C.M.S., but he died within two years. As his

successor, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed in 1886 the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and one time head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. He was a man of outstanding statesmanship, and under God the Sei Ko Kwai owes more to him for its ecclesiastical polity than to any other single individual. As has been well summed up by his biographer: "The foundation and building up of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai was from the first the idea which he had in view, and from which he never allowed himself to be deterred 'by the emergence of all those difficulties and most interesting problems which his keen foresight told him would be inescapable from the early years of an indigenous Christian community.'" Even before he reached Japan it is clear that this idea was in his mind, and it received tangible support in a resolution, which was passed unanimously, at the first C.M.S. conference over which the Bishop presided shortly after his arrival:—

> That taking into consideration the existence of three episcopal missions in this country . . . and being convinced that co-operation between these three societies, and visible union among the native Christians connected with them, is necessary to the establishment of a strong episcopal Church and a necessary preliminary to any wider union of Christians in Japan . . . the annual conference of the C.M.S. now sitting . . . wishes to suggest to the bishop and clergy of the American Church and the clergy of the S.P.G. the desirability of holding a general conference of the three missions on this subject at an early date.

The idea was cordially welcomed by the other bodies, and in 1887 the conference was held at which the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai was founded. In preparation for this Bishop Williams and Bishop Bickersteth

with their colleagues, Japanese and foreign, had put in many months of careful work. The underlying idea in the formation of the Sei Ko Kwai was not, speaking metaphorically, to plant a new tree with a separate life of its own, but rather to regard it as "a new branch of the Church, which has germinated." Consequently we find that, while on the one hand the Sei Ko Kwai shares in those means of grace which are the possession of the whole Catholic Church—the Bible, the two creeds, the two Sacraments, and an ordered ministry, at the same time it enjoys the independence of a national Church, free to express itself according to the national culture and temperament. Arrangements had been made some years previously for the use of a common prayer book, and this, together with a constitution and canons, the result of the work of the two bishops, was accepted by the new Church. One of the original clauses in the constitution established the Church as a missionary body, and a few years later missionary work was opened in the island of Formosa.

It may be of interest to refer to some of the special features of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai which distinguish it from its sister Churches in other lands. In the first place, it is pledged to the principle of small dioceses. By one of its canons "six or more churches in close geographical relationship to each other being self-supporting, and being each served by one or more Japanese presbyters," may apply to the General Synod for leave to be formed into a separate diocese. Of course, it should be remembered that where there are six self-supporting churches, there may be sixteen which have not

made such progress, and so the diocese will not be quite so small as the canon would suggest. It was in virtue of this canon that in 1923 the new dioceses of Tokyo and Osaka were formed, each presided over by a Japanese bishop. Whatever doubts may have existed beforehand as to the wisdom of such a policy have now been effectively disposed of as a result of five years' experience. It is interesting to note that the election of the two Japanese bishops was the first instance since the days of the early Church of a Church in a non-Christian country choosing and supporting its own nationals as bishops according to its own constitutions and canons. The Japanese bishop by virtue of the canons must rule by constitutional methods, for provision is made in each diocese for what is known as a standing committee of clergy and laity, whose function is to help and advise the bishop and who in addition possess considerable powers of their own.

Another special feature of the Church which calls for comment is that it is, on the whole, singularly free from party spirit and controversy. All schools of thought are represented and get on very happily together. This spirit is likely to grow still stronger for the Church is fortunate in possessing a Central Theological College, where men of all view-points live and learn together. The Japanese Church has in its canons and prayer book certain features which the English Church only obtained later, *e.g.*, a parochial church council and a special preparatory service to be used in place of Morning Prayer when there is a celebration of the Holy Communion. In addition, from the first there have been alternative Prayers of Consecration based on

the English and American uses, which latter includes the Epiclesis, neither of which has proved the obstacle or cause of division that some have anticipated in the West.

The relations with the foreign missionary societies have been equally happy. This is in part due to the fact that a man ordained as priest in the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai has, by virtue of his priesthood, a good standing in the Anglican Communion throughout the world. As a result missionaries work in and under the Church without any difficulty. Their work is done in and for the Church from the beginning. There are no rival ecclesiastical organizations.

With regard to other Christian bodies the Sei Ko Kwai hitherto has tended to maintain rather an aloof attitude. At the time of its foundation a committee was set up to consider the subject of church unity, and there was a certain amount of correspondence on the subject, which, however, led to no positive result. The Church has not yet joined the National Christian Council, which is the meeting-ground of most of the Christian bodies in Japan, though the two Japanese bishops have attended its annual conference in a private capacity to show their sympathy. There is no doubt that one of the main reasons for this somewhat conservative policy has been a genuine fear that in joining such an organization the greater idea of the one united Church of Christ might be shelved for a policy of federation ; but, now that the purpose of the Council is more clearly understood, and it is recognized that it is not an ecclesiastical body, there is every hope that the present policy may give way to one of closer co-operation. It is quite

certain that until fellowship is cultivated unity is not likely to make much progress.

III

IN addition to the work done by the various Churches in Japan, there is also a good deal of subsidiary activity which is of real value in the establishment of the Kingdom. For example, there is the work done by Christian literature. The Japanese are a reading people. There are nearly 300 daily papers, and twice that number of periodicals. In 1926 over 20,000 fresh volumes were published in Japan, while approaching £200,000 worth of books were imported, chiefly from England and America. Of this volume of printed matter, Christian literature forms a fair, if not large, proportion. For example, there are over 200 Christian magazines, and, though most of them have only a small circulation, yet in the aggregate they reach a considerable figure, and some, indeed, have a nation-wide circulation. In addition, a few Christians are to be found holding responsible editorial positions on some of the leading secular papers ; and three or four of these papers have in recent years started a regular religious column, in which Christian writers get, if anything, an unduly large share. The sale of Christian books is not great, even among the Christian population, but the clergy as a whole are well read. Dr. Speer, in his report on his recent visit to Japan, mentions that he noticed in a catechist's library in a remote part of Hokkaido books by Peake, Westcott, Hort, Garvie, Otto, Eucken, Glover, Seeley, Brookes,

McGiffert, Halken, Gore, Moberley, Moffatt, and many others! This is by no means exceptional.

Again, Japanese delegates to-day attend the various international conferences which are held in connexion with the Christian Movement, and on their return interpret their messages to the people. Japan was represented at Stockholm, at Lausanne, and at Jerusalem. Indeed, as these words are written a series of articles on this last-named meeting are appearing in the columns of the most influential daily paper in Japan. It is anticipated that several hundred delegates from Japan will attend the forthcoming World Sunday-school Convention to be held in Los Angeles. In 1920 this Convention was held in Tokyo, and made a nation-wide impression.

Societies, which draw the bulk of their support from the churches, are working for such causes as social purity, temperance, and the like, and are doing much to keep the ethical and moral side of Christianity before the public.

Finally, there is the National Christian Council, which has been brought into being in order to provide the various Christian bodies with a common meeting-ground, where they can collaborate and co-operate in such matters as affect their common aims. The great majority of the Christian bodies, representing about half the Christian population in the country, are full members of it, and in addition members of both the Sei Ko Kwai and the Greek Church attend its annual meetings as co-opted delegates. On such vexed matters as the American Immigration Act—which made a profound stir in Japan—and the proposed Bill of Religions the

Council has been able to express clearly and well the Christian attitude on the subject. It has the further advantage of having official recognition, which, though it may not mean much, at all events shows that the Christian forces, despite their divisions, are recognized as being able to pull together. Indeed in 1924–6 the Council sponsored a united evangelistic campaign right through the Empire, which received a measure of official sympathy and support that would not be accorded to efforts undertaken by a single Church. In the naval port of Saseho, for example, the Naval Club was opened for the first religious meetings of any kind whatsoever to be held within its four walls.

When, therefore, we look at the Church in Japan, using the term in its widest sense, we see a small body organized according to the genius of the people, though not unmindful of world-wide principles, one fired with a spirit of independence, ably led, making rapid strides in self-support, and now thoroughly indigenous. We see a Church possessing a well-educated ministry, thoroughly capable of facing the intellectual demands of the day and, indeed, to a certain extent meeting them by voice and pen. We see a Church whose members may have an almost unbroken Christian education in mission schools from the kindergarten to the university. We see a Church taking a lead in many of the social reform movements of the day, and thereby making an appeal to that present-day attitude of mind which is inclined to judge a religion solely by its works.

And yet in 1926, as a result of the work of over 6300 Christian pastors, missionaries, and teachers of all Churches, denominations, and societies, not

to mention the work of voluntary workers, with over 2500 Christian churches and nearly 200 Christian schools (excluding kindergartens) in which to make their influence felt, with a nation-wide evangelistic campaign held during the previous year, and with a Church of over a quarter of a million behind it, there were only 17,500 baptisms; and this figure represents a record! During the past twenty years the Christian Church in Japan, relative to the rate of growth of the population, has advanced at the rate of .01 per cent per annum, or, to put it another way, at the present rate of advance it would take ten thousand years to make Japan Christian. What is even more serious is the fact that the figures show no improvement in the rate of growth.[1]

Can it be wondered, therefore, that Mr. Kanzo Uchimura, one of the outstanding Christian personalities in Japan, who has a larger following of disciples than any other Christian leader in the country, takes the line that the Churches are one of the greatest hindrances to the advance of Christianity in Japan: that the faith should be allowed to advance in its freedom without being hampered by ecclesiastical organizations and the like?

IV

WHETHER one agrees with him or not, the figures given above are in themselves sufficient to provide food for the most furious thinking, for if such be the result of fifty years of work of the organized Church, what hope has it of "getting the message over" in the years to come? It may,

[1] See Appendix I.

therefore, be a good plan for us in the last part of this chapter to face this question, and to ask relentlessly what is the cause of the relatively slow advance of the Church, when all are agreed that Christian ideas have an influence on the nation far in excess of the body which is supposed to give expression to them.

The first reason, perhaps, is that the Christian Church in Japan to-day is overwhelmingly a middle-class Church. It includes among its members a large number of officials, teachers, professional men, and the like, who " pursue the even tenor of their way," discharging their duties faithfully, leading respectable lives, enjoying comfortable homes, and proving a valuable and stabilizing influence in the national life. It was these men who in the early days formed the samurai class and who were most awake to the new civilization and religion. It was they who were most ready to adopt western culture, to study western literature, and to accept western standards. True, some of them showed great creative power and rose to high rank in the Empire, but most of them made good under-officials, as their fathers had made good retainers before them. The result of their presence in the Christian Church has been to give it a flavour of mediocrity. It has lacked those great creative personalities who mould human life. Very few Japanese statesmen, or merchant princes, or leaders in the various walks of life have been Christians.

Looking in the other direction, although, in the words of the secretary of the Japanese Federation of Labour : " Working people ought to understand Christianity better than any other section of society in Japan, since they are always bearing the cross,"

yet Labour is frankly indifferent to the Christian Church. With one or two exceptions, the Labour leaders of Japan are now outside its borders, though many of them are men of Christian faith. There is not the sense of brotherhood in the Church which they find in their own Labour unions. It is more of the nature of a select society. It smacks too much of the capitalist system. It courts official approval. It is silent and impotent in face of the conditions of modern life. While its teaching is good, it does not apply it to the problems at its doors. In the words of one of the outstanding Christian women leaders of Japan: "Organized Churches seem to have so little contact with the vital problems of the world outside, therefore they do not touch Japanese life itself." Its members want the Church to become the Church of their own class. They have not realized that it is the home of all classes. As for the country population, which forms the backbone of the national life, the Christian Church has as yet hardly begun to touch it; but more will be said about this later on.

In the second place, there is little doubt but that the emphasis on self-support and independence of foreign financial aid has not been an unmixed blessing. Unconsciously the Church went first after those who welcomed it and happened to be blessed with worldly goods One of the first and most famous churches in Japan is to-day more or less moribund, simply because in the early days a dead set was made at the rich men in the place, with the result that the church has now become more or less their religious club. Again, this emphasis on self-support has tended to obscure the paramount duty

of evangelization. In the words of the Japan findings prepared for the Jerusalem Meeting: "It is to be regretted that hitherto because of the urgency of attaining independence and self-support and because the Japanese Church has exhausted all its energy in this direction it has had no reserve for making great outward expansion." The whole problem is one of great difficulty, as there are dangers in both directions, but there seems little doubt that the Christian Movement in Japan has not wholly escaped them.

The third reason may be attributed to the fact of church divisions. The Japanese to a certain extent are accustomed to such things. Buddhism is hopelessly divided by sectarian differences. At the Sapporo exhibition some years ago, when the local churches joined together to secure a pitch in front of the main entrance for evangelistic purposes, the two Buddhist rivals on either side of them forgot their common foe in a mud-slinging campaign against one another! Shinto, too, has many sects. There are endless new religions, entirely independent of one another. In consequence of these facts, it may be said that the appeal of Christianity is not weakened in the public mind quite to the extent that it might be, but the evil results of divisions are seen in other directions. The most obvious result is that of overlapping. When each body feels that it must needs have a church in the prefectural capital, the result is that you get, on the one hand, five or six struggling churches in one city, and, on the other, four or five towns outside with no church at all. For example, in the prefecture of Hiroshima, where there is as much rural

evangelization as in any other prefecture in the country, there are thirty churches in the four cities, where a quarter of the population is living, and fourteen churches in the 423 towns and villages, where three-quarters of the population is to be found. Of these fourteen, eleven belong to one Church specializing on the work, which means that the "big six" divide the remaining three between them.

Another evil effect is to be seen in the large numbers of Christians who to all intents and purposes may be described as lapsed church members. Practically the whole work of the Church is confined to the cities and larger towns. A Christian returning to his home in the country finds himself cut off from all corporate means of grace and forced to lead a solitary life in a non-Christian environment. All honour to those who still maintain their faith and witness, but the results are such that in a recent survey of the fourteen leading churches in the city of Yokohama, of the 4191 members on the books, only 1869 are resident members. As long as church divisions exist, such a state of affairs is perhaps inevitable. But at the same time one cannot help asking: Can it be the will of God that things should be so?

Another reason for the comparative ineffectiveness of the Church is the failure to use adequately the instruments that it has at its disposal. At the present stage it may not be able to afford expensive buildings, but how many of the present edifices are in any way conducive to a spirit of worship and quiet? The appeal to the æsthetic side of Japanese nature, which Buddhism and Shinto have been quick to utilize, is almost entirely absent in Christianity. There is no doubt but that in this respect the Sei

Ko Kwai, with its ordered forms of worship, has a contribution of real value to make to the Christianization of Japan, and yet in how many churches is this fact realized? Recently experiments have been tried by the Bishop in Kyushu, with marked success, of using the Prayer Book service as a means of evangelistic approach, but such examples are quite exceptional. Again, is the comparatively small proportion of baptisms in the Christian schools of the country entirely due to that element in the Japanese temperament which dislikes a definite decision? Or is it possible that here, too, there is an instrument not being put to the best uses?

In the various campaigns against social wrongs supported by the Christian Church, how often is the challenge made to man's conscience on frankly Christian lines? On the contrary, is it not true that the tendency is to appeal more to national pride or economic advantage? As a result the Church has not shown the spirit of daring which should be one of the distinguishing marks of such a body in a non-Christian land. It has followed rather than led public opinion. When at the beginning of the Meiji period there was a popular cry against Buddhism, it joined in the chorus. When the days of reaction came, none felt them more than the Church. With the coming of the twentieth century and the growth in international outlook, it has regained its wider vision, but it has at the same time paid deference to conservative opinions no less than the nation at large. The newspapers have been left to take the lead against the military excesses in Korea a decade ago, and the corruption of political life in the present day. The

Church is frankly afraid of being too closely identified with Labour because of government opposition. In all these instances the Church has had opportunities of moulding public opinion, but has lost them ; the instrument was there, as it were, in the standards of Christ, but it has not been used.

But it is in the preaching of the message, perhaps, more than in anything else that the Church has failed to-day. When Francis Xavier inquired as to the prospects of Christianity in Japan, Anjiro, his first convert, answered : " My people would not immediately become Christians ; but they would first ask you a multitude of questions, weighing carefully your answers and your claims. . . . If you should satisfy them . . . then as soon as the matter was known and fully examined, the daimyo and the educated people would become Christians. . . . The nation is always one that follows the guidance of reason." There is considerable truth in this answer, for there is little doubt that the intellectual approach is one that makes considerable appeal to the Japanese mind. But the danger to-day is that it ends there.

We have often heard at evangelistic meetings a most admirable apology for the Christian faith, in its relation, for example, to evolution, but that is all. There has been no Gospel. This criticism has been levelled more than once against the speakers in the National Evangelistic Campaigns which have been held from time to time. And yet the Gospel has an appeal in Japan. Yamamuro, of the Salvation Army, and Kagawa can fill any hall in the country. It is a striking fact that the Church—one of the smaller ones—which is making the most

rapid progress to-day, is one which stresses this note to the exclusion of all others. It is easy for the Church as a whole to point out certain very obvious shortcomings in this body's work, but it is a moot point if it would not be wiser to learn from its enthusiasm.

The nation is looking for a Gospel; she has been given a system of doctrine. She is conscious of a lack of spiritual power, but she does not find it in the Body of Christ. She is offered a teaching, whereas what she seeks is a Personality.

These words are not penned with any lack of appreciation of what the Church has done; nor are they the criticisms of those outside, who do not realize the difficulties that the Church is called to face. Most of them could be addressed with equal force to the mother Churches in the West. But in recent years the tendency in much that has been written about Japan is to speak of the great progress made by Christianity, the widespread influence of Christian ideals, the penetration made by Christian thought, the recognition that Christianity has received at the hands of the authorities, and the place that it has won in the life of the nation; and to overlook the fact that the Church is still relatively small and weak, and as yet quite incapable of grappling with the immense task before it. In the words of one of its own leaders, the late Dr. J. S. Motoda, Bishop of Tokyo: "We are here to make non-Christians and anti-Christians into Christians, as well as to make Christians into better Christians: to seek after and bring into the fold the sheep which are outside it, as well as to look after those which are in it. We are all hard at work, but there is more work than we can possibly do."

CHAPTER VII

Means and Methods

It is mine to put forth every effort in sowing seed:
But I commit the success or failure to God.
—Japanese Poem

IF there is one thing which is quite certain, it is that God will not fail His Church, provided it be faithful. But it is also necessary that it be wise. The mere fact that it is a divine body entrusted with a great mission is not enough; it is of paramount importance that its methods as well as its purpose be in accord with the divine will. The marvel to-day is that God blesses some of these methods to the extent that He does. The fact that He does so should be an incentive to use better methods, not an excuse for continuing those that are inferior. This is especially true of Japan, and, indeed, of any non-Christian country where the indigenous Church is still relatively weak.

The present situation in Japan reveals undoubted spiritual opportunities, but it also reveals the disconcerting fact that the Church is scarcely alive to their significance. Its vision is not commensurate with its task. It has a vital message, but it is not using it to the full. It is well organized, but hardly in the best way to meet the present demands. The purpose of this chapter is to examine whether there are methods, and in particular untried resources, which are available to the Church, and which, if made use of, may so alter the situation as to encourage the belief that in the years to come Japan will become a nation effective in the Kingdom

of God. It is obvious that this is primarily and fundamentally a spiritual question, and therefore not divorced from reality. Certain facts stand out which have a vital bearing on the spiritual situation, and are bound to affect any methods which the Church may consider. Foremost among these are three—an unreached field, an educated people, and an organized Church.

I

BRIEF reference was made in the previous chapter to one of the unfortunate results of our present divisions, namely, the overlapping in the cities and the neglect of the country districts. When the country was reorganized at the time of the Restoration, it was divided into some forty-seven prefectures, or large counties. These, in turn, were sub-divided into cities, towns, and villages—though the last named may perhaps be more accurately described as rural districts, as the average area of each is about fourteen square miles. Over this area the country population is fairly widely distributed. Now, just one half the population of the country lives in " villages " of less than 5000 souls. Of the 10,729 such villages in Japan to-day the Christian Church has occupied 108, or just one per cent. A study[1] of the relative occupation of the cities, towns, and counties reveals the fact that, while the cities and their suburbs have an average of seven churches each, and about half the towns are occupied, when we come to the villages, only one in a hundred has any Christian church at all.

[1] See Appendix II.

It may be a good plan to illustrate what this state of unoccupancy means by taking the case of a single prefecture, one which may be described as a special trust to the Sei Ko Kwai, and one in which some of the most devoted workers of the C.M.S. have worked during the past forty years. We refer to Shimane prefecture. It is in West Japan, and one which is pre-eminently rural. It is rich in legend and history, which have been unfolded to the West in the works of Lafcadio Hearn. Within its borders are to be found the Izumo Taisha shrine, which is closely associated with Japan's beginnings, and which the gods are supposed to visit every year during the month of October. In West Japan the beating of the drums at the end of that month to show the gods the way back is still a common custom. There is no doubt but that the influence of the shrine constitutes a serious obstacle to Christianity, for, out of a population of nearly three-quarters of a million there are only 226 resident Christians in the prefecture. The further fact remains that, whereas twenty years ago there were sixteen Christian workers, including seven missionaries, working at twelve centres, to-day there are ten workers, including two missionaries, one of whom is on the retired list, working in a similar number of places, six of which have no resident worker. In other words, in some places at all events the Christian Church, so far from advancing to attack the country problem, is actually retreating, and this despite the fact, in the words of Bishop Knight[1] in his report on the situation in Japan: "Of

[1] Bishop Knight, then Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, went to Japan in 1925 at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury as a special messenger.

all the varied ways in which our assistance is desired this was stated with the greatest urgency." Many other instances might be given to emphasize this aspect of the task, *e.g.*, Hokkaido, with a population of over two million of the most open-minded people in Japan, where the C.M.S. staff is reduced to the bishop and his wife and one woman missionary; but the above facts will suffice.

But the call of the country is not only one of spiritual need, it is also one of human suffering. As was mentioned in the first chapter, the infant death rate is greater in the country than in the city, a condition of affairs almost unparalleled. A survey of Chiba prefecture reveals that of the 274 village areas seventy-five are without a doctor. In another prefecture a local Christian was asked if he could not persuade a medical mission some miles away to send a doctor to an urgent case. He sent word to the doctor, who, when he arrived, found not only the urgent case waiting for him, but also a whole room full of other patients. His intended brief personal visit became a general clinic. It was not a case of the people taking advantage of a mission doctor's free service, as they were willing to pay him for all he did. Even in the cities there are openings among the poor. The C.M.S. dispensary in Tokyo on the edge of the Sugamo slum, although it has not been going two years, has as many patients as a single doctor can handle.

There may have been some justification for the policy of occupying the cities in the early days. This was largely the result of circumstances, but there is no defence for its continuance to the exclusion of country work. As long as this practice

is followed a large and increasingly important section of the nation will be outside the influence of the Christian Church at a time that it is particularly desirable that they should receive it. Certainly while half the population of a country is absolutely unreached it is not the time for missions to talk about withdrawing all evangelistic missionaries, as one leading mission did recently, as if to say: "All is accomplished and the task is done."

But if the country population represents the largest unreached section, the industrial workers form one of the most needy. In the opinion of most economists, Japan is destined to become an industrial nation. The present drift from country to town is unmistakable. As soon as conditions in China become more normal and her markets are open once again to Japan's trade, it is almost certain that there will be a tremendous revival in industry. To-day there are about two and a half million labourers distributed over some 45,000 factories. They comprise thirty per cent of the city population; with their dependents, they represent a total of at least five million. Factory conditions, while improving and in many places first class, are as a whole still very unsatisfactory. So far legislation is but tentative and does not affect factories employing less than ten hands. In silk factories, requiring casual labour, a sixteen-hour day is not uncommon. In a recent strike in one such factory the owners were able to shut in their girls in order to enforce surrender. Statistics show that the effect on infant mortality and health among the workers is serious.

Yet, apart from the efforts of men like Kagawa

and Sugiyama, and a pastor or missionary here and there whose work lies among such people, the Christian Church as a whole has hardly touched the problem. Not only is the appeal of human need unheeded, but even the economic challenge is unheard. It is significant that the National Christian Council in its findings for the Jerusalem Meeting on humanizing industrial relations, when it considers the Church's responsibility for rousing thought on such matters, is practically entirely negative in its attitude; where it is positive it breaks forth into general platitudes which suggest an unfamiliarity with the subject. The Sei Ko Kwai is not one whit better in this respect. While individuals in its ranks are doing noble rescue work, yet as a Church it has never faced the implications of modern industrial and economic developments. It has not considered its positive duty to the social problem as a whole. Its emphasis on the corporate life has no reference to society. In other words, Labour presents another great section of the national life almost untouched by the Christian Church. It was possible for missionaries of the C.M.S. within the last two or three years to start work in what is known as a "model slum" in Tokyo, where in a single compact area they have a population of 20,000 labourers to themselves.

More might be said of other sections awaiting the coming of the pioneers—the fishermen, with a population of a million and a third, who with their wives and families number over six million, and who constitute largely a class of their own and are to be found all over the Empire; or the 300,000 miners, whose life is perhaps the hardest of any,

and who work, men and women together, in eight-hour shifts in the mines of Hokkaido and Kyushu ; or the outcaste class, numbering well over a million, who are now awakening to a sense of their rights, but are still practically untouched. But enough has been said to show that the task that still awaits the Church is terrific.

Japan to-day has an unreached population greater than that of Nigeria, Uganda, and Kenya put together. Whatever methods may prove best to the Christian Church, foremost among them must be those which are going to touch all these multitudes. But it is not merely the evangelization of masses ; there is also the guiding of the new ideals and that sense of power, which is stirring within them, for labourer and farmer alike are destined to play a tremendous part in the Japan of the future. They constitute key sections of the population.

There is a word which in the West on account of certain associations has come in recent years to have a rather sinister meaning. It is the word " cell." It denotes the establishment within a group of men of a smaller group whose purpose is intensive propaganda. These men are full members of the larger group, sharing their life and work, but at the same time they hold certain strong convictions to which they feel it their duty to try to win others. In order to equip them for their task, they receive training of a highly-concentrated character from those who have specialized on the subject. From time to time refresher courses are held, in which they may compare experiences and at the same time receive fuller instruction.

Now, whatever may be the opinion about the

ideals for which these " cells " stand, there is no doubt as to their effectiveness, otherwise they would not be regarded with such fear. They represent a method of attacking a problem which would not yield to bigger and more ambitious plans.

Is it not possible that in the " cell " is to be found the germ of the idea for reaching the industrial and country classes? At all events it will bear examination. A good deal is said nowadays about the importance of missionaries engaging in rural evangelization. It is suggested that the missionary, once he has the language, should settle down in one of the smaller towns with the intention of giving his life to it. The work is admittedly uphill. Indeed, the one who is perhaps best qualified to speak on it said recently with reference to Japanese doing such work : " When you go from a city into a village the rural people at first seem very reserved, and do not make friends quickly, rather they watch you from a distance. For about a year you are being examined, tested, and at the end of it the most you may hope for is to have it said of you : ' That person looks like one who would not do wrong.' By the end of the second year they may say about you : ' He is a good man ! ' And by the end of the third year gradually you may be able to do some Christian work." If such is to be the lot of a national in Japan, what would a foreigner be able to do? Observation certainly bears out the fact that, even to experienced missionaries, country work is one in which they have to be prepared to go slow. Does such a prospect bring the evangelization of the 10,000 villages of Japan much nearer? We must face facts ; it does not.

But it is just here that the " cell " idea comes in. The worker whose words are quoted above, in company with Kagawa, has recently been making the experiment of what are described as " Rural Gospel Schools." Picked men, who are Christians, are invited from various villages to some centre for a course of intensive training. The course lasts for about a month, and, in addition to all the spiritual fellowship, such subjects as the Life of Christ, Church History, Rural Sociology, Practical Agriculture, and the like are taught. When the course is finished these men and women return to their homes where they are known, to the ordinary round of village life which is their lot, but fired with a new and great purpose—the establishment of Christian " cells." The knowledge they have gained of agriculture and other practical matters helps them to commend their Gospel to their fellows, and so we get the beginning of the country Church of the future, but beginning at the right end. It is not somebody from outside transplanting a Church, but the people within caring for and watering the seed that has germinated until it grows up to be a tree native to the place.

This idea applies also to efforts to reach manual workers. An institutional Church, of course, with a good plant and an extensive programme of evangelistic and social work, can do a great deal of good, and a few such are in existence in Japan to-day. But there is always the danger of their being regarded as an exotic plant rather than one which has grown up naturally within. It is only possible by a very close identification of the work with the people to overcome this difficulty. Readers

of *Before the Dawn* will remember the suspicion that Eiichi San had to overcome in his early efforts for the redemption of the slum. We remember a year or two ago a meeting in a Tokyo industrial area, one Sunday evening, addressed by Kagawa, in which, after an hour's talk on the Epistles of St. Paul, several of them written in prison as he sympathetically reminded his hearers, he went on to discuss quite naturally the purpose of their co-operative society. It was all part of the one sermon, but it revealed the secret of his power among the people. The Church in Japan cannot succeed among the workers if it proposes to confer a benefit on them, even if that benefit be the Gospel; it must share a life.

In both country and town in Japan, as in any other land, the medical mission is a sure way of touching the hearts of the people. This does not require foreign doctors, but it does require doctors backed by the Christian bodies, for financially it may not be a paying concern. Sugiyama, who is an expert on such matters, found that his dental knowledge in three months opened up half the homes in the village which he had made his home.

Another method which the peculiar position to-day seems to demand is that which is known as newspaper evangelism. While the pioneer of this work was a C.M.S. missionary who inserted a Christian text in a church notice in the local papers forty years ago, it is largely due to the genius of the Rev. A. Pieters, an American missionary in Japan, that it has been worked out on systematic lines. It consists of putting Christian articles, paid for if necessary, into the local papers. Each article

invites correspondence from those interested. Such correspondents are supplied with Christian literature, and are, further, invited to join a society for studying Christianity. Members are entitled to a monthly magazine, the use of a circulating library, and other privileges. As their interest and faith grow they are linked on to the local church, or, where none such exists, are taught by means of a correspondence course, and so are led into the full experience of the Christian faith. In Sendai a new experiment of a newspaper evangelism "cell" was tried, which proved very successful. A group of some young countrymen, reached in this way, were invited in for a week's course of intensive study. The result was most encouraging.

But the fact that in the Sei Ko Kwai office over 20,000 applications have been received from all over the Japanese Empire asking for further information, shows that the articles are very widely read. The method, therefore, is not only of value in reaching individuals, but also in making what may be termed a "mass appeal." Such an appeal is of all the greater importance when it is remembered that the thought-life of a great section of the population is to-day in a state of flux, and that where it is impossible to give our personal attention, anything that is done to spread abroad a greater knowledge of the Christian way of life is of value.

The further experiment has been tried in recent years of linking this form of propaganda very closely with the organized Church. Both in the newspaper articles and in the literature that is sent to correspondents its connexion with the Church is emphasized. Thus in the popular mind the Church

comes to be known as standing for certain definite ideals, and this in turn helps to increase its influence on the nation. During 1927, the year of the National Mission in Japan, the plan was tried of using the papers in several centres as the means of preaching the Gospel alongside the churches. Speakers were introduced, their messages broadcast, the meetings announced, and results on the whole proved satisfactory. There is no doubt that the Press opens to the Church a wide field for experiment in the work of the Kingdom. It is but one of many instruments at hand of which in far too many cases the Church has been slow to take advantage. It has preferred to use its own tools, often of quite inferior quality.

As long as great areas are unentered, it follows that not only are non-Christians unevangelized, but also many Christians, on returning home from the city, are cut off from all corporate means of grace. In this connexion a new plan has been started recently of a service and sermon by post. These, though issued by a central office, are sent to the applicants by the local churches to which they belong, and so it is possible for them to receive week by week a regular ministry by post, whereas previously they might not be able to get it more than once or twice a year. The experiment is still in its early stages, but it is full of possible developments. It is interesting to note that the largest orders for these services placed by any church are those from the two mission fields of the Sei Ko Kwai in Sakhalin and Formosa.

One last means remains to which reference should be made, but it is the one of greatest difficulty. It

is that of unity. Reference was made at some length in the previous chapter to some of the results of "our unhappy divisions." In no direction, would it seem, are the evil results more potent than in the face of the unfinished task. Yet the tragedy of the situation is that, despite this fact, many profess to see no harm in the multiplication of sects, and, indeed, are quite ready to defend them. As the result, one is left with the impression that they exist, in addition to their object of making Christians, more for the benefit of their foreign supporters than for a distinctive contribution to the Church of God in Japan. Even among those who have a concern for unity nothing seems to be done. The Sei Ko Kwai and the Congregational Church have both set up committees to examine the subject, but at present they have got no further; the Presbyterians are adopting a watching attitude, ready to appoint a committee when the time warrants it, but apparently determined not to take the initiative. The National Christian Council was approached by the Federation of Christian Missions in Japan and asked to take action. It set up a committee, which has done nothing. It is difficult to see how a Christian Church of 300,000 in a population of 60,000,000 can make itself felt while it divides its forces into nearly thirty separate units who act entirely independently of one another. One only hopes that the statement in the findings for the Jerusalem Meeting, that "the Japan Church intends to realize Church union and sweep away division," will come true; at present there is not the slightest sign on the horizon to justify it.

II

THE second factor in the present situation, which must have a bearing on all methods that may be used to forward the Christian cause in Japan, is that the Christian message is addressed to an educated people. This fact distinguishes Japan from nearly all other "receiving countries." Japan has a culture and religions of her own of which she is justly proud; she is not prepared to accept Christianity simply because it claims to be superior and has the prestige of the West behind it. It will be accepted on its merits. Its appeal to Japan is utterly different from what it is to the outcastes of India and the pagans of Africa. For this reason one of the most effective means of presenting Christianity in all its fullness to the Japanese people is by means of education. The Christian leaders of fifty years ago were quick to realize it. We find that, within a year or two of Japan's decision to embark on a policy of national education, there were founded schools which afterwards grew into St. Paul's University (Sei Ko Kwai), the Doshisha University (Congregational), Meiji Academy (Presbyterian), and Aoyama Academy (Methodist). In addition, a beginning was made in women's education, and for many years the Christian Church was ahead of the Government in this respect.

As was explained in a previous chapter, the two systems of government and private education have grown together in Japan, and, though the latter has at times found the government regulations somewhat irksome, yet it holds to-day an undoubted

place in the nation's life. Some of the schools, indeed, are making a distinctive contribution ; but the majority of them exist rather to provide education for those who are unable to attain to the standards required by the government or better private institutions.

In what category are the Christian schools to be found ? It is quite clear to what category they should belong : it is not so clear that they do so. Certainly very few Japanese will go even to the best Christian institutions if there is a chance of getting into one of the government colleges or into the best class of private institutions. There are two reasons for this. The relatively abundant resources at the disposal of the government schools enable them to have better equipment and to secure the services of better teachers than most of the private schools can afford. This, however, would not be a decisive factor if only the Christian schools possessed such distinctive features as should stamp their personality on the educational world. There is outside Tokyo one private institution to-day, not Christian, small and severely limited in means, but it is run on the lines of an English public school, and there is a steady stream of applications from students of the best type. It is making a distinctive contribution. Of course, in Christian schools Christianity is taught to some of the students, if not to all, and there is an indefinable Christian something which distinguishes them from non-Christian schools. But their great danger to-day is that in their attempt to be big they become shallow. It stands to reason that with anything up to a thousand day scholars as in the government schools, with classes of forty

to fifty, and with a non-residential staff, many of whom are not Christian, it is impossible to expect the strong Christian tone of, for example, a school run on English public school lines and managed by a keen staff. It is indeed a very debatable point if the Christian universities and schools in Japan, as at present organized, are making their best contribution.

That students are not irresponsive to the Christian appeal, if rightly given, is shown by the remarkable mission held in the Doshisha University in 1927, which led to the baptism of several hundreds and the conversion of not a few members of the staff. The work has continued and has deepened, and has led to a change of atmosphere in the whole university and school.

The peculiar situation in the educational world in Japan, however, opens up another field for Christian work, namely, that of hostels in connexion with government institutions. There is practically no " living in " in the universities of Japan as there is in England. Most of the students have lodgings, very often of a poor and doubtful character. It is obvious that here is a field for Christian hostels, where a small group of students can live a common life under a strong and natural Christian influence. A few such already exist, but this field is still largely unoccupied. It is a significant fact that the last appeal the late Bishop Motoda made to the English Church was for Cambridge and Oxford men to run one such hostel for university students in Tokyo.

III

WE have so far in this chapter considered various methods which time and circumstances in Japan seem to demand, but there is one thing which overshadows the whole discussion—the utter immensity of the task. Whatever intrinsic value the several methods may have, however widely they may be adopted, the fact still remains that the task is so big as to be beyond the strength of the Church in Japan at the present time. It is only by a use of that "world-creating and world-transcending power" which lies within Christianity that it can hope to fulfil its task. In other words, the supreme method is the spiritual one. The ultimate question is: To what extent is the Church making use of its resources in Christ Jesus? The odds are no more formidable than those that confronted the early Church: in many respects the conditions are remarkably parallel. What features do we find in the early Church which have their message to the Church in Japan to-day—that Church which is the third great factor in the present situation? There are three which seem to suggest themselves.

The first is an intense devotion to the Person of our Lord. It was due to a consciousness of what He had done for them. "What shall we give Him in return? He gave us light. He saved us when we were perishing: we were lame in understanding and worshipped wood and stone, the works of men. Our whole life was nothing but death. He pitied us: He had compassion: He saved us, for He saw that we had no help of salvation except from Him. He called us when we were not, and from not being

He willed us to be."[1] But this is a trait which certainly, so far as a ruler or lord is concerned, is one which is already strong in the Japanese nature. The Emperor is the father of his nation, and through his benevolence his people can enjoy the benefits of his rule. What is more natural, therefore, than that they should have towards him a heart of gratitude?

Even in things religious this spirit is not unknown, certainly so far as some of the Shinto sects are concerned. We remember a few years ago, when climbing the sacred peak of Ontake, a mountain of over 10,000 ft., meeting on the way an old couple of about seventy, who were together making the arduous ascent in order to render thanks to the deity on the summit who had heard their prayer and had cured the husband of a dangerous illness. On the same occasion we met various parents on the same errand, carrying on their backs lusty sons of two or three years old, also the gift of these mountain gods.

With the coming in of western thought and modern industry, this spirit has grown weaker, but, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the personal appeal is none the less. Surely this is a note which needs to be sounded to-day with a renewed earnestness? The sense of gratitude to Jesus Christ for what He has done, which itself is the product of the experience of the knowledge of Him, and which in turn inspires to a yet deeper loyalty, is one which is all too much lacking in the Christian experience of the present day. Too often

[1] Clement II. Quoted in Glover's *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.*

one finds that the popular idea of Christianity is that it is a religion of taboo, a code of morals which is uncomfortably admirable, but which is wholly lacking in inspiration. How often the first thought it rouses in a non-Christian's mind is that of abstinence from tobacco or *sake* (Japanese rice wine). Would this be the case if its main note had been one of grateful devotion to our Lord?

In the second place, one of the distinguishing traits of the early Christians was that of service. In this they caught in a special degree the spirit of their Master. Such service and mutual help were necessary in a society composed largely of slaves. It may be argued that in Japan, where Christianity is largely among the middle classes, such is unnecessary. Judging by the emphasis laid on service in many churches, one might think there was some truth in this idea. To Buddhism religion centres round the *okyo*, the teaching; to many Christianity is something similar. Is it possible that one of the reasons why so many Christians backslide when they get back to their country homes is due to the fact that they have never learnt the joy of Christian service? They have looked upon religion as a thing to receive; they have attended church and sacrament regularly, and have received all that the Church has to give; but they have never thought of sharing it with others. The result is that when they are cut off from church fellowship they do not know the meaning of service; they get wrapped up in themselves, and all too soon they lose their spiritual keenness. As the Japanese proverb puts it: "Fire does not burn in a jar." Another result of the failure to sound this note is that to many of the best of the

youth of Japan to-day Christianity, like other religions, makes no appeal. It is wholly unrelated to their daily life, and makes no demand on that spirit of service which burns within. An exception, however, must be made in the case of Kagawa. To a unique degree, as we saw in a previous chapter, he knows how to employ this latent energy.

Lastly, there was in the early Church a spirit of joyous adventure. What if the arena and the martyr's crown lay ahead? They had got hold of something good and they knew it. "The dominant note of the New Testament is the sense of limitless possibilities in the transforming power of the spirit of Christ. They might not see as far as the day when the Roman Empire should become Christian, but they had all the courage which came from assurance of ultimate victory; and so, one after another, the evils of the day were challenged and overthrown."[1] The Church in Japan has had a share in the campaign against vice and intemperance, but to-day the call is to join issue on economic and industrial problems. The position is easier in Japan, inasmuch as these have not yet become a matter of party politics. The need is very serious, for abuses, which the West has found it almost impossible to remove later on, are still in relatively early stages in Japan. But so far the Church has been strangely silent on such subjects as long hours, care of workers, employment of children, and the like—questions which are fundamentally of a moral character. Is it due to the fact that she is so occupied with establishing her own position that she has forgotten the truth of that Japanese poem

[1] *St. Paul and Social Psychology*, F. R. Barry, p. 4.

quoted in a previous chapter: "Under the raised sword is hell indeed, but make a charge and you will see it is heaven too."

One thing is certain. If the Church is ever to capture the youth of Japan, these notes must be heard within its portals more than they are at present. But they are not manufactured. They are the joyous expression of a vital spiritual relationship. As the Church gives vent to it, others will "catch from its joyaunce the surprise of joy," and so the message will spread.

When the Dutch boat reached Hirado during the days of the Tokugawa régime, the men of the city used to light a beacon on the hills behind. This was seen by the men of Bakan, a hundred miles away. They in turn lit their fire, and so the message was carried from peak to peak, till two days later it reached the shogun's capital, nearly a thousand miles away. As St. Augustine said: "One loving spirit sets another on fire."

CHAPTER VIII

The Younger Church and the Older Churches

Though water takes the shape of the vessel it is in, it can also penetrate rock.—Poem by the Emperor Meiji

IN the early days of the Christian Church the converts belonged almost exclusively to the lower classes, slaves and the like. It was due to this fact that the wild rumours about the conduct of the believers spread abroad. It was not considered possible that slaves could meet together for other than wrongful purposes. But gradually, as a result of their witness, their masters were reached, and the faith worked its way upwards, until finally the Emperor himself became a Christian. Then a reverse process set in, and the upper classes began to send the message to the half-civilized tribes—the Britons, the Germans, and the Gauls, and from that time, as a result, missionary work has always been regarded as a means of uplifting people in a lower state of civilization. It has been tacitly assumed that the "sending" countries are superior to the "receiving" countries.

But with some of the nations of Asia this has not been so. Christianity has found itself confronted with cultures and religions of great antiquity, whose history and civilization go back farther than those of many of the so-called Christian countries themselves. In the case of Japan not only is this true, but, in addition, she has a standing equal to that of the western Powers. It follows, therefore, that the relation between the "sending" countries and

Japan is fundamentally unlike that between the "sending" countries and Africa, for example. In particular the status of the missionary in the public esteem is different. He may not be, indeed, as in some lands, the only channel of the Christian message. For example, Dr. Niishima, founder of the Doshisha University, became a Christian in America. The Christian leaders who belonged to the Kumamoto and Sapporo bands were led to Christ by foreigners who had been engaged by the Government to teach in their schools. It was largely through the self-sacrifice and ability of their converts that Christianity made the progress it did.

I

IN consequence of this, from the first the question of the relation between the indigenous Church and the foreign missionary has been a very "live" one. In some Churches a solution has not yet been reached. Indeed, from time to time voices have been heard within the Church suggesting that missionaries are not wanted. It may be said quite definitely that this is not the opinion of responsible Japanese leaders, and, indeed, just the reverse is true. The late Bishop Motoda, in answer to the Archbishop's query on the subject, replied: "I give it as my deliberate opinion that missionaries of the right type are needed in Japan, whatever some few may say to the contrary."

Yet, since such reports take a long time to die, it may not be out of place to examine briefly the reasons which have given rise to them before going on to consider in greater detail what should be the

relation between the older and younger Churches, so far as they affect Japan at the present time. Not only will this plan serve to dispose of a false idea, but it will also help at the same time to bring out more clearly the special problems that Japan presents.

In the first place what lies at the bottom of this suggestion is the idea that Japan is already a civilized and independent country, which does not need to be taught by foreigners. As a prominent Japanese journalist, a non-Christian, said recently with regard to missionaries : " As religious teachers their presence is an implied insult to the great moral and religious forces that have built up our noble civilization." There may be some justification for this criticism, as in the early days of the Meiji period there was an undoubted tendency to identify Christianity with western civilization, but the missionaries were not the only parties guilty of this. Even Fukuzawa, the great educationist, wrote :—

> As before stated, if we are not mistaken in our arguments, there is no alternative for our own country but to adopt the social colour of civilized nations in order to maintain our independence on a footing of equality with the various powers of the West. As an absolutely necessary preliminary the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America. . . . The adoption of this religion will not fail to bring the feelings of our people and the institutions of our land into harmony with those of the Occident. We earnestly desire, therefore, for the sake of our national administration, that steps be taken for the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

As a corollary to this, the idea got abroad that one of the steps necessary for a man to become a

Christian was for him to throw over his national characteristics and customs. Such a notion, however, could not and did not last. An inevitable reaction followed, and within a decade or so a more balanced view prevailed.

It is this idea, however, which is at the back of the criticism quoted above. That it is a mistake is too obvious to require discussion. The presence of an English missionary in Japan is no more an insult than the presence of a Japanese merchant in London. But it should be remembered that the Christian evangel is not a western commodity seeking a market in an eastern land ; it is a principle to be propagated. The Soviet in their propaganda do not distinguish between civilized and uncivilized countries. They spread their doctrines abroad in all countries, whether they are civilized or not, where communism does not prevail. It must be so with the Christian missionary, be he English or Japanese.

In the second place, the argument is sometimes heard, in Japan as in England : Are there not plenty of non-Christian things in the life of those lands which send missionaries ? Would it not be better if they attended to the evangelization of their own people before coming to Japan ? It is an old argument. Amaziah the priest used it against Amos the prophet.[1] But at the bottom of this lies the mistaken idea that missionary work is a thing to be done by " Christian " countries in " non-Christian " lands. But there is no such thing as a " Christian " country in the world. The so-called Christian countries are only those in which there happen to be a proportionately large number of Christian people.

[1] Amos vii. 12.

Apart from all questions as to when missionary work began, since Christianity to-day is touching practically all lands, the distinction is only one of degree, not of kind. In other words, the Christian religion to-day has a worldwide battle front against any force which is non-Christian, be it heathenism, or materialism, or hedonism, or scepticism. In fact, Christianity stands as the foe of all that " opposeth and exalteth itself above all that is called God." The sending of missionaries, therefore, from one country to another is no more than the transference of forces from one point on the battle front to another where the line seems weak. It is a matter of elementary tactics. To say that forces are not to be moved because the enemy is in front everywhere is absurd ; the matter is not worth serious consideration.

But it is argued, and this with more force, that the evangelization of Japan had better be done by Japanese. Missionaries who come from other lands find the language difficult ; they are slow to understand the Japanese view-point ; their manner of life is so different from that of the Japanese that they may actually prove a hindrance to younger Christians. In short, they are a debit rather than an asset. Here, again, there is a certain amount of truth. The criticism is not to be met by a direct denial. Since national traits differ, national interpretations of Christianity must also differ. At the Y.M.C.A. International Conference at Helsingfors in 1926, the American and the German delegates found themselves in different camps. The Germans criticized the Americans for the way in which, at the end of a prayer meeting, they almost jumped off their knees and rushed off to tennis, treating

the meeting simply as an item in the programme and showing but little of the devotional spirit. On the other hand, the American delegates complained that the Germans had no compunction over drinking beer at committee meetings; if that wasn't non-Christian, what was? It is a good illustration of how difficulties arise between Japanese and missionaries because of their different view-points. But this in itself does not constitute a case against having missionaries. For a certain period during the great war French troops were sent to assist on the Italian front. It was not because the Italian soldiers happened to be few, but because the French happened to have better aeroplanes. As a result of their presence the whole line was strengthened. The fact that the Italians happened to be in their own land, and were more expert at mountain-fighting than the French, was no argument against employing French airmen.

It is also important to remember that missionaries come to make a special contribution. The Japanese Christian, whatever we may say, is called upon to live in a land where Christian influence is still comparatively slight. He cannot, however genuine his faith, have that deep knowledge of Christianity which is so largely a matter of heritage. He cannot know, for example, the beauty of the Christian home. If he happens to be born in a Christian family, it is more than likely that some members of the household are non-Christians. At a recent wedding in Tokyo, the bridegroom had only just returned from three years' residence in England, and the bride had been for some time teacher of English in an English mission school. The chief

relative, in proposing the health of the young couple, wished that they might form an " English home." Though a non-Christian himself, he realized that there was something indefinable about the English home which compelled his admiration, and which he hoped they, with their Christian and English connexions, would enjoy. While a missionary should, on the one hand, enter as fully as possible into Japanese life and observe Japanese etiquette, on the other, he should remember that wherever he is " there is some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England." He is no more to denationalize himself than he is to isolate himself. In his influence it is his attitude of mind, rather than the manner of living, which is important.

There is another reason why this co-operation is urgent. In a previous chapter we saw that in Japan's religious heritage there are certain influences, far reaching in their character, which cannot be described as good. The Buddhist God-idea and the Confucian standard of morals are examples in point. There is a real, though quite unconscious, danger of preaching a Buddhistic Christianity, or the like. Missionaries are not entirely free from blame for this, and indeed some have seemed almost to welcome it. It is as if a French airman were to try his hand at Italian mountain warfare. A missionary should by all means have a knowledge of the indigenous religions, but at the same time he should stand uncompromisingly for the Christian way of life. He can see it in a setting which his Japanese brother cannot; he is not trammelled with custom and tradition as his brother is. Let his brother make the Christian interpretations later.

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show that, even accepting the premise of those who argue otherwise, there is a vital place for the missionary in Japan. But, looking at the question from a broader standpoint, it is important to ask: "In what way can the older Churches *best* help towards the evangelization of Japan?" It is a matter of quality rather than quantity. It may be said to be along three directions: firstly, to use the illustration taken above, by way of morale, that is, by seeing that their own front is so strong as to be an inspiration to the rest of the line; secondly, by providing financial help; and, thirdly, by being ready to send reinforcements where they are needed.

II

THERE is no greater lesson which an older Church can give a younger one than to show it how it met and defeated evil in its own midst. It means everything to the temperance forces in Japan to know whether American prohibition has been a success or a failure. The English marriage standards are an ideal to those who are standing for pure homes in Japan; any weakening of them will affect Japan as well as England. As has been pointed out already, a Labour Government in England, ruling by constitutional methods, made a profound impression in Japan. The lessons of a well-organized parish in England are of more use to a Japanese visitor than many a course of theological lectures; he can get these in his own country.

With all the advance in knowledge and means of

communication, in a land like Japan, where foreign books are widely read, it follows that books on the Christian experience in other lands can have a real message. The contribution that the English Church can make to the devotional life of the Church in Japan was a point specially emphasized during Bishop Knight's visit. In view of the present state of the Church, may this not be described as one of its greatest needs?

The next contribution is that of financial assistance. It may be well in the first place to inquire why this is still necessary, before going on to discuss how it may best be made. Some branches of the Japanese Church, in their desire for financial independence, have tended, perhaps, to pay too much attention to this question of self-support, and the result has proved somewhat detrimental to other work for the following reasons.

In the first place, Japanese Christians, as has been said already, belong chiefly to the salaried classes. They are not poor, but they are not rich. For that reason it is a real problem for a congregation of under a hundred, say, to support its own clergyman, pay all its own expenses, and also contribute to the evangelistic and missionary work of the Church. There are no endowments. The result is that the average gifts of each communicant on the active list are almost £2 per annum. Does the communicant in England do as much?

Again, as compared with the workers of other religions, Japanese clergy are, on the whole, of much higher education. Their congregations expect them to be cultured and widely read. As a result, the necessary standard of life of a clergyman

is fairly high. He must go into society of all kinds and be prepared to meet people of all classes. In a city there may be suburban and down-town churches, but in the towns the one clergyman has to minister to people of all kinds. He, more than the average man, must read books ; he must keep up his intellectual no less than his devotional life. Yet to-day the average salary of a Christian worker is no more than that of an ordinary labourer. The best paid clergyman in Tokyo Diocese gets less than £200 a year and a house. If it is an effort to a church to support him, it is no less an effort on his part to live. On one occasion a new treasurer was appointed by a mission. On looking into the accounts he was impressed by the fact that, in proportion to the workers' salaries, their travelling allowances seemed to be unduly large. So he planned to cut down the latter item ; but what escaped his notice was the fact that it was not the travelling allowances which were too big, but the living allowances which were too small. It is not realized how continually the worker is up against the financial problem. Poor equipment is not normally conducive to a fighting spirit.

Another point which is peculiarly Japanese, though not unknown in England, is a sensitiveness about money. This is in part due to the influence of Bushido, but it is also the consequence of forgetting the sacredness of money. As a result, the clergyman, whatever his circumstances, will avoid all reference to finance, lest he hurt the spiritual sensitiveness of his flock. On the other hand, unless there are keen laymen to see things through, the result may be even more disastrous. By the rules

of the Sei Ko Kwai all contributions to the Pastorate Fund are supposed to be paid over direct into the Diocesan Pastorate Fund, from which the clergy are paid. This helps somewhat, but the rule is not always rigidly observed. The matter will right itself in time, but on occasions it tends to very real suffering.

Finally, though self-support may have as its goal self-government, yet the more a Church becomes self-governing the greater become its financial obligations. With the growth of organization comes the growth of administrative expenses, and these in turn tend to deflect from its power of self-support.

The above remarks, if they have done nothing else, should have served to show how intricate is the problem of self-support in a land like Japan. One good result, however, is that it has served to simplify the financial relations between Church and mission. In the olden days the missionary was paymaster as well as preacher. Each worker had to send in his accounts to him, and, after scrutinizing them and comparing them with the sanctioned figures, he paid him such money as was due. To-day to an increasing degree the mission makes what is called a block grant to a diocese. This is paid annually, and is subject to a steady reduction, in some cases with due allowance for incoming and outgoing workers. This grant, together with other sums paid by the several churches, is administered by the Diocesan Board of Finance, which itself is elected at the annual Synod. In Tokyo Diocese this Board consists of four laymen and two clergy, one of whom at present happens to be a missionary. This Central Board is able to keep a close watch over the financial

conditions of the diocese, to readjust payments if necessary, summon church committees for consultation, in addition to making the various payments out every month. Having the authority of Synod behind it, it can take steps of a more far-reaching character than an individual, *e.g.*, suggesting the opening of new work, the combination of churches, the closing of churches. Indeed, if this system were general, it is not improbable that many moribund congregations, which are at present bolstered up with mission funds, would cease to exist, a thing which recently happened in one of the larger churches. As a result of this system the missionary is released from a good deal of that " serving of tables " which is apt to become one of the greatest burdens in the mission field.

This system is part of that order of policy of what is known as diocesanization, by which all work is centralized in the diocese rather than in the foreign missionary society. By it the various schools of thought are able to make their fullest contribution to the life of the whole without being distracted by outside allegiances. Such freedom is of great importance in the growth of Japanese churchmanship.

One further word should be said on this subject. The eternal problem before the missionary society in its financial relations with the indigenous Church is to strike the mean between giving too little—so that the Church is wholly occupied with finding self-support—and too much—so that it is relieved of financial responsibility for evangelistic work. This difficulty will perhaps best be met by giving additional help on special occasions, and also by

financing work of a special kind. To give two illustrations. Part of the expenses of a church in healthy conditions will be for its own evangelistic work or for the missionary work of the Church at large, but at times special missions are arranged which involve considerable expenditure. It certainly seems more reasonable that a society should help here, rather than by giving a generous grant to the pastorate fund, which is the Church's first call. In the second place, newspaper evangelism, rural gospel schools, and other outside activities are enterprises which the indigenous Church at present simply cannot undertake. It can provide the personnel, but not the funds. Here is an opportunity for the mission to make that distinctive evangelistic contribution, which is one of its chief functions.

The Japanese Church, so far as financial strength is concerned, has not yet reached saturation point. But it is an open question whether in some quarters it has not gone beyond it, so far as its spiritual strength is concerned. The new financial relationship between Church and mission provides the latter with an opportunity of doing much to foster that evangelistic spirit which lies at the bottom of all giving.

III

FINALLY there is the question of man-power. It may seem superfluous, in view of what has been said above, to answer again the question: Does Japan want missionaries? But perhaps it will not be out of place to quote the opinion on the

subject of another outstanding Japanese leader. Bishop Uzaki, of the Methodist Church of Japan, and late chairman of the National Christian Council, writing on the evangelistic task before the Church, said: "In time, of course, missionaries will not be needed, but that time is not yet; it is still premature to make such a change. We are still eagerly desirous that our foreign brothers will continue with us in the gospel work in Japan, and assist the indigenous Church to become strong and independent. Especially if he puts evangelistic work in the forefront shall we be able to co-operate without fear of difficulty or disagreement." This statement has all the greater significance when it is remembered that from 1926 the Methodist Church has become entirely self-supporting.

What, then, is the type of missionary that is wanted?

There is, in the first place, the specialist, the man who can help the Japanese to do work which they cannot yet do themselves. In this respect it does not matter whether he is ordained or lay, man or woman, provided he has some special gifts. The late French Ambassador to Japan, M. Claudel, was a poet, and for that reason he was much beloved by the Japanese, and as a result was able to fulfil his duties as ambassador with all the greater success. For those who are ambassadors of Christ to have some such gift is a great gain. A man with literary or musical gifts, or a man who is good at sports, will find a ready entry into the hearts of the Japanese, and along the line of his special talent will be able to help forward the Kingdom of God. In this connexion mention should be made of the

valuable work done from time to time by the visits of Christian scholars and others who have given lectures on religion and science. In a land like Japan, which lays such emphasis on education, their words are listened to with the greatest respect. It is many years since such a visit has been paid by a scholar from one of our English universities.

But the man who will be especially welcome is the ordained man. In the organization of the Church such as it is to-day, the missionary, as missionary, has no special position. If he is a layman he may receive a lay reader's licence from his Bishop ; he may also be put on the church council or elected to Synod, but this is not probable. But if he is in Orders he can take his position at once in the full life of the Church, and so find endless ways of serving it. This applies with equal force to women missionaries who receive official recognition of their status as women workers in the Church. Despite the difficulties and disappointments which may greet a missionary in his early years of service, as he gets into his work and the bonds of friendship between him and his Japanese co-workers grow, he will discover a joy in the work he had not dared to think possible. The very difficulty of the work will challenge his best thought and prayer ; its slowness may test his courage ; he may learn in a new way the truth of those lines :—

> I know how hardly souls are wooed and won,
> My choicest wreaths are always wet with tears.

But the one thing that he will never understand is how it is that so few come out to share the adventure with him. It is a strange fact that hardly

any of the English missionaries in Japan offered for Japan. The missionary society sent them. It is also equally true that very few have ever regretted the society's decision or would now readily go elsewhere.

One further qualification remains. It has been assumed throughout the whole discussion. It can best be epitomized in the words of Bishop Motoda : " We want men and women who will reveal to us Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER IX

The Incoming Christ

As the song of the bird on the seashore gets louder it tells of the incoming tide.—Japanese Poem

I

ABOUT sixty miles east of Tokyo there is a long, unbroken piece of sandy coast known as the Ninety-nine Leagues. Nichiren, the great patriot and prophet of Buddhism, was born at its southern end. In a thatch-covered home in one of the villages that line its shore, not many years ago, there lay a young girl in her twenties. She had gone there to die. Her father had been priest of a famous Shinto shrine, but at the time of the Restoration had given up his religious duties in exchange for those of a schoolmaster, and had worked his way up till he became the head master of a school of some 800 boys and girls. His daughter, the only girl, the baby of the family, inherited his talents. She had had a brilliant career at the two schools she had attended, and had been top of her form all the way through. On leaving school she got a post in one of the leading banks of Japan, and all seemed well, when suddenly the blow fell. She was smitten down by that disease which is the scourge of Japan. " In order that you may understand what follows," she wrote, " I must tell you something about my illness. It started in April, 1922, when the cherry blossoms were still in the bud. I was seized with a violent fit of coughing up

blood. I knew only too well what it meant, even before I went to the doctor. I had got consumption."

Bit by bit the fell disease strengthened its grip on her. Various cures were tried, but in vain. So finally she was packed off with her mother to a remote little fishing village, there to die. None of her neighbours were allowed to know what her complaint was, and, except for her mother and an occasional visit from a brother, she saw nobody. Months changed to years, and the poor racked body got weaker and weaker, till for two years on end she could not rise from her mat on the floor. But, if her body was perishing, her mind was still very much alive, and by means of the daily newspaper she was able to keep in touch with the outside world. Gradually, however, the cloud of despair shadowed the home ; the hammon had come.

One day in the late autumn, it happened by the providence of God that her eye lighted on a paragraph in the paper, which led to the following letter being sent to the New Life Hall. It ran as follows :—

GREETING !

I wish to believe in Christianity. In this hard fishing village there is no church where I can learn, and I have been worried what to do. But I saw an article in the paper on November 1, so I now take up my brush to ask you to send me the booklets you offer.

HATAKO FUSE.

Some suitable literature was sent, and a week later Hatako was enrolled in the New Life Society. Her first books from the library were a life of Christ

and Kagawa's *Before the Dawn*, the title of which in Japanese may be more correctly translated, *Crossing the Deathline*. She also enrolled in the Bible study course, but a little later a note came that she would be grateful if, when announcing new books in our magazines, we would put the number of pages, as she could not lift heavy ones. So she was ill! It was our first intimation. We learned later that she had found even her Bible too heavy to lift at one time, so she had cut it into sections, and these were distributed round her bed within reach, each in its appointed place.

About a fortnight later—there had been a pause by reason of another attack of illness—came inquiries about the correspondence course, and shortly after she was enrolled. Answers were sent in more or less regularly, and revealed a rare spirit, which seemed to respond so naturally to the love of the Saviour. They were in beautiful handwriting. It was only later that we realized that they were all written as she lay on her back. Gradually her faith grew, and a new power came into her life to help her in her battle. She wrote on Midsummer Day to say how God had been speaking to her in answer to prayer, and how she had come to realize His presence in her room. We urged her to tell her mother and friends about the One she was finding. It was an effort, but at last she unburdened her soul to her Shintoist mother; she had no other friend to tell.

In September, after a longer interval than usual, she wrote to say that she had had another bad bout, but that on this occasion she had not been filled with the sense of fear and suffering as before.

Could she be baptized? The nearest Christian worker, the Rev. P. Y. Kawai, was twenty miles away, but the link was made, and he proved a true friend to her. At this time a Buddhist friend wrote to comfort her, but though she appreciated his sympathy she did not find much consolation in his message. As Mr. Kawai began to teach her she leapt forth to a new and stronger faith; but the effort was too much for her tired body. Kawai wrote that he proposed to go over on November 1 to make arrangements. When he got there he found her very ill indeed, and after further teaching and prayer he decided not to wait any longer. She was baptized. She insisted on sitting up for the sacrament, but the effort was too much, and for two or three days she hovered between life and death. Finally, however, a letter arrived :—

GREETINGS!

On the first day of this month, All Saints Day, in the presence of a great company of the saints, and with Mr. Ewado, of Holy Trinity Church, and Mr. Kawai as my godparents, in the waters not of the Jordan but of the village of Katakai I received baptism. In my lonely life I will never forget this day so filled with joy. I have received the name of Mary of Bethany. I ought to have let you know at once, but the day after my suffering body was once again put to the test.

MARY.

It was the anniversary of the day on which she had first seen the article in the newspaper.

With Kawai and the correspondence course to teach her, her faith grew more rapidly, and a couple of months later she sent in a manuscript for the magazine, *New Life*, entitled, "The Sick Room as a

Place of Exercise." It told an added story of the grace of God :—

The first day after my baptism dawned the sun rose slowly from its bed in the great bosom of the Pacific until it shone into my room. I said my prayers with a sense of serenity I cannot well describe, but I had no sooner done so than three times over I coughed up blood. Hitherto on such occasions I had always made a rule to get my mother to call the doctor, but on this occasion I decided not to do so. I would trust to God to help me. I owed that idea to my baptism and also to a friend of mine. I prayed : "O God, I now leave my illness in Thy hand unto its very end, however far it may go. If it be Thy will, look in pity on Thy servant and heal me." Thus I prayed.

The days that followed marked a terrific struggle. Again and again the illness came to the attack ; again and again it was repelled by prayer. On the fifth day, however, she continues :—

In the evening I was touched in my spirit. God seemed to say to me, " You will certainly be saved." I felt as if I was being held in the hands of God. His presence was stretched over me like a pure and beautiful rainbow. It seemed as if He said to me, " I will heal you ; don't be anxious." I could not withhold my joy. I lay awake all night until the cock crew, but I was perfectly happy. At dawn I went to sleep. I dreamt something out of the Bible. Unconsciously I raised myself a little. " Thy faith hath saved thee. Take up thy bed and walk "—was that the dream ?

And so the story goes on, telling of the fight that followed : the temptation to give up : but on the ninth day the hæmorrhage ceased.

As her health improved her answers to the correspondence course came in more regularly, and

showed a growing depth of spiritual experience. One day, however, she wrote to say that her brother could not afford to keep her any longer, and that he was making arrangements for her to go into a charity home. Between the lines one could see what the impending separation between mother and daughter meant. Then an idea came to us, we may say, from God. We arranged to pay a long promised, but oft postponed, visit. After more than three hours in train and car we reached the village. Mr. Kawai, who had joined us on the way, pointed out a girl standing close by. "There she is," he whispered. She had walked half a mile along the sandy road to meet us. A sense of awe crept over us as we stood before one in whom God was doing a special work. She gave us a warm welcome, and together we walked back slowly to her little home. The old mother bade us enter with a kindly courtesy, but not without some traces of embarrassment at having to entertain a foreign guest. As we sat round Hatako's bed in the back room and saw for ourselves the broken Bible and the comments we had made on her answers to the correspondence course, all neatly filed, and many another thing as well which had come to have a sacramental value, and then, as we looked at the figure on the bed, possibly not beautiful, but with a peace and strength and personality which bore the touch of God . . . Kawai said it was all a miracle.

Next day we went to the Garden Home, near Tokyo, where an English woman and a Japanese colleague are doing a fine bit of Christian work for girls in the early stages of consumption. It seemed

almost waste of time to go, for was not the home desperately short of funds, and was not Hatako's case so far advanced as to debar admission? But we told our story. Could anything be done? "Yes, we received a short time ago a sum which would pay for Hatako's expenses—for two years if necessary. We had thought of applying it elsewhere, but our inquiries came to nought. The one condition about the gift is that it be used at once and not put into the bank."

To-day Hatako is in the Garden Home. Her health is steadily improving. Already two girls who have shared her room have been baptized, while she is now taking a third through that correspondence course which has meant so much to her. The old mother is attending church in her home town, and should be baptized shortly.

> Then I preached Christ, and when she heard the story,
> Oh, is such honour possible to men?
> Hardly, my King, had I beheld Thy glory,
> Hardly had known Thine excellence till then.

II

ABOUT 250 years ago, while Japan was still a closed country, there lived in the neighbourhood of Yamaguchi a Japanese family of good standing. They were swordsmiths by profession. Some of them were Christians—in all probability led to Christ by the devoted Xavier himself, who laboured earnestly in that region. Foreign trade had not as yet been forbidden, and so the Yasokuya, as the firm was called, found a market for their wares in the distant kingdom of Siam. A few years

ago a tablet bearing the name carved in Japanese characters was dug up in that country, while another one engraved in Siamese letters, which had long been in the possession of the family, was recently deciphered and revealed their Christian ancestry.

Many generations back the family moved from their country home to the busy city of Osaka, which then, as now, was the commercial centre of the country, and there they continued to ply their trade. At the time that this story opens the head of the family was a Mr. Kichibei Yanagihara. He was a man of serious disposition, and a keen student of the old faiths and also of the new religion of Christianity, which once again had made an appearance in his country; but, like many a compatriot, he was content to pursue his quest with no special thought about its attainment. A trivial incident one day while shopping brought home to him, however, the unsatisfactory nature of such a spiritual condition, and, as neither Buddhism nor Shinto seemed to meet his longings, he turned with renewed earnestness to his study of Christianity. St. Paul's experience on the road to Damascus was repeated in his life, and on January 7, 1889, he was baptized by the Rev. John McKim, now Bishop of North Tokyo. A few years later he made a new venture in the shape of a dye factory. Though in early years it was quite a small affair, to-day the Yamatogawa factory, as it is named after the river on which it stands, or the Yanagihara factory as it is more popularly known, after its head, is one whose reputation for honest dealing is nation-wide, and whose treatment of its employees is a model of what such things should be.

It had long been the wish of the old couple that one at least of their children should be dedicated to God's service as a token of gratitude to Him for all He had done for them. One summer afternoon in 1893 their third boy, Teijiro, met with an accident through falling off a pole, and had to be taken to hospital. His anxious parents therefore decided that, if God would hear their prayer and spare their boy, he it would be that they would dedicate to Him. Their desire was granted, and after careful nursing Teijiro was restored once more to the family circle. But what would Teijiro say to their vow, and what would be the attitude of the rest of the family? In Japan such things are not merely matters affecting the individual. The boy was first summoned, and the parents told him of their desire. To their joy he readily assented, and from that day started to prepare himself for the task to which he had been dedicated. The family was then called together, the brothers and sisters, and the father spoke to them as follows :—

God has richly blessed our family and has given us, your parents, seven boys and girls. We, your father and mother, have resolved to offer one of you to Him for His service, and to-day our desire has been granted, and Teijiro has listened to his father's request with joy. But this is a very serious matter, for it affects you as well as him. Without your agreement it cannot be fulfilled. The aim of a missionary is not to care for himself, but for others. It is your duty, therefore, to undertake to see that Teijiro shall be free from all cares. Go forth and prosper, but as you make your fortunes, make enough also for Teijiro's support. He will do his work as your representative before God. If he fails, you fail. If you succeed, it is success only so far as it bears spiritual fruit.

One and all they agreed to their father's request. Teijiro was able to go through the university and then to America. He was ordained, married the daughter of the present Bishop of Osaka, and to-day he is in charge of one of the leading churches in that city. He attended the Jerusalem Meeting in 1928 as one of the delegates from Japan.

Fired by her brother's enthusiasm, Fukuko, his eldest sister, decided also to give herself to God's work, and, after special training at Kyoto, took a leading part in the various Christian women's movements in the city. But in 1920 she was stricken with mortal illness. When her will was examined there was found written in it this farewell poem : " What joy indeed to go to my Father's side and receive His approval."

III

WE pass from the quiet of this Christian home to another part of another city. In the northern section of Tokyo there lies a part of the city known as Mikawajima, or Three River Island. Its inhabitants are almost entirely casual labourers who at the best of times barely earn a living wage. In this area poverty is so general that only thirty per cent can afford to eat rice, which is the staple article of food in Japan, while seventy per cent have to content themselves with but two meals a day, instead of the normal three or four. As a result of this, not only is the father at work, but his wife also and children, as soon as they are old enough, are sent out to replenish the family exchequer. Under such conditions it could hardly

be expected that the home would bear much sign of love and care; indeed, on the contrary, as one wanders along the muddy alleys, barely five feet wide, which serve as playground and kitchen, passage and cesspool, to the denizens of the hovels on either side, one wonders if it can be human beings who live there at all. Considering the filth outside, however, the little rooms within are perhaps less dirty than one might expect. This is due to the Japanese custom, observed even in the humblest homes, of removing shoes before entering the room with its matted floor. But these straw mats themselves are the breeding-ground of every kind of vermin. The rooms are low, rarely more than six feet in height, and small, nine feet by twelve being a common size for a family of five. They are still further deprived of light by the narrowness of the path in front and the lack of garden behind; and of space by the family chattels, which often take up more than half the floor area.

Considering the environment, it would seem but natural to expect to find crime very general, but this is not the case. The reason is that, on account of the poverty of the inhabitants, the owners of the saké shop and *maison livrée* have small hope of making an income. But if crime is relatively rare, vice is not. Till recent years it was the common practice of parents in these quarters to sell their daughters when they left school at the age of thirteen to houses of ill fame. Indeed, there was a definite class of man who acted as professional go-between in such matters. The girls themselves went not unreadily, knowing that by so doing they would help replenish the family exchequer. Indeed, the

children of the neighbourhood, left largely to run wild between school hours and their parents' return at night, were so bad that, although elementary education is compulsory in Japan, over three hundred usually absented themselves from school, much to their teachers' relief, for they found them beyond their control.

Such was the state of affairs which, over four years ago, sent forth a call to a young Japanese farmer named Suzuki. He lived in the island of Oshima, a volcanic island some twenty miles off the coast of Japan. He kept cattle, and was fairly comfortably off. Then his manager defrauded him; words ran high; pistols were drawn; when suddenly there flashed through his mind the words of our Lord: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." He was not a Christian, but he rose from his seat and fled from his house across the mountains to the home of a Christian friend, who told him more of Him Whose words he had remembered.

From that moment his mind was made up. He gave up his farm and made his way to Tokyo. It was just after the great earthquake, so he offered his services to Kagawa, who at that time was engaged in rescue work in Tokyo's east end. He was put in charge of a branch of the children's work, together with a woman worker, who, though threatened with consumption, had left the care and comfort of a rich home to help in the task. The strain proved too much for her, however, and the illness reasserted itself. Kagawa bade her give up a task obviously beyond her strength. She refused. Suzuki solved the problem by marrying her! She

was now to be under his orders. He kept on at his job until her health permitted a move, then together they decided to make their new home, not in some seaside resort where the breezes might nurse her back to health, but in the slums of Mikawajima. For four years they have lived in one of the same sort of houses as the people around. Her health is now restored, and their home is gladdened by the presence of little children. For the first two years Suzuki had to do the work of an ordinary coolie, as he refused the offer of outside help in order that he might the better understand the lot of those to whom he had given his life. While he was away at work his wife from her sick-bed taught hymns to the little folk who came round to see the newcomers. At night, when the day's work was done, Suzuki went out street preaching and teaching the children too.

Then came the call to give himself exclusively to this work for the children. There was but little chance of reaching their parents. They had to go off to their work before dawn, and were not back before nightfall. It was the hours between their return and sleep which were often the darkest hours of the day. Suzuki saw that, if only plans could be devised by which the children could be kept between school hours until the time that their parents were asleep, he would be doing much for their welfare; so he started a night school. A tent was put up on an empty space lent by the city. Into this were packed over two hundred children, the majority of them belonging to the three hundred absentees. Lessons were interspersed with hymn singing and Bible stories. The parents whose children played

truant at the government school were glad for them to attend night school: it sounded well. While lessons were going on Suzuki and other workers went out for street preaching and singing. They always found a ready audience and choir among the children, who, whatever might be the suspicions of their parents, had for themselves no doubt as to the kindness of their teacher. The older folk too, listened in the background. From the first Suzuki set himself to do two things—to get the recalcitrants back to school, and to stamp out that idea which allowed parents to sell their daughters. He did it by winning the children. In the new environment the children found school so nice that it did not require much persuasion to get them to attend the morning school as well. To-day there are only thirty absentees, instead of three hundred. In the next place he rubbed it into them with all the force that he could command that if the bigger children let their parents sell them to lives of shame it was a gross act of filial impiety, for it was helping their parents to perform an act which would send them to hell. For the past two years there have been no such sales. The middlemen have left the place. Of course, such work could not but arouse the opposition of these men. They combined with their business duties certain religious functions as well. So the house next to the Suzuki home was procured, and a special festival of a somewhat noisy description was arranged. "The sick woman would not be able to stand that"—but she did! Then the plan was tried of beating the devils away with drums through the night—but that also failed. It was not popular with the neighbours. So

Mc

finally the effort to get rid of these obnoxious visitors was abandoned.

As we sat together one evening and talked over the past and the future, Suzuki showed me with pride the plans he had drawn up for using some old buildings which the city office had sold him for the nominal sum of £25. "Here is to be the children's library, and there the clinic, and there are the lesson rooms, and these two rooms are for some of the teachers. You see, we have now dispensed with outside help, and use some of the young men of this neighbourhood who have become Christians. Indeed, the young men's society, on hearing of our plans, came forward and offered their services in any way they could; and the carpenter too, who is not a Christian, has promised to put up the buildings at cost price." "Where are you going to live?" "Oh, we are going to have these two rooms here, but we are not moving in just yet. We want to keep the fourth anniversary of our life in Mikawajima in the first home we had."

IV

THUS it is that God fulfils Himself in many ways —by bringing new hope and health to a girl to whom hope was not; by touching a father's heart and a boy's ambition so that a whole family became partakers in His purpose; by snatching a country youth from a murderous quarrel and flinging him into a position to win life. Each in his or her own way is proving the power of Christ both to meet individual need and to inspire to action.

They are illustrations not only of what He does, but also of what may be.

In a recent speech Mr. Baldwin, the British Prime Minister, said : " To my mind the distinctive Christian message is the individual transformation of character, and the making of that character react on public life." Nobody in Japan to-day seriously denies that Christianity does the former. Indeed, it is generally conceded that " Christianity is a good religion " ; statesmen do not hesitate to speak well of it, on occasions. Many non-Christians say quite openly that it has a moral power far in excess of the two older religions.

The question now is no longer whether Christianity is " an evil sect " or not ; it is, rather, Has it power to react on public life as well as to transform individuals ? As men see on all hands the weakness of the human instrument, despite the perfecting of the machine, they are asking whether Christianity can supply that type of leadership which modern forces have failed to create. Or is it, in face of present conditions, to be set aside as a well-meaning but impracticable ideal ? Buddhism and Shinto have played a great part in Japan's past, but their influence is visibly waning. Will Christianity take their place ?

With unerring accuracy Kagawa has pointed out that this depends ultimately on the conversion of the individual. " Christians at present," he says, " are too small a force to make their opinion effective. We must strive to get one million Christians in Japan. Then, and not till then, can we hope to have Christian principles and solutions applied to the political, social, and religious life of

the Japanese nation." In other words, the Church will only win Japan for Christ as it makes its first aim the winning of individual converts ; a vague Christianizing of ideals will not suffice. But has it the spiritual power to do this ?

The present condition of the Church warrants no easy and affirmative answer. Its vision is dim and its prophets are few. It throbs with no great passion for souls. With the best will in the world, it must of itself prove inadequate to its task. But despite its weakness, it has within it the living Christ. He dwells in the hearts of those that love Him. Japan has yet to feel the fulness of His power. Hatako and Yanagihara and Suzuki are evidences of what He can do with and through individuals. As we think of them and of the thousands to follow, dare we doubt what the issue will be ?

> For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

MAP OF
JAPAN
SHEWING THE PLACES
MENTIONED IN THE BOOK.
MANCHURIA
SAGHALIEN
SAPPORO
HOKKAIDO
KOREA
TSUSHIMA
OSAKA
KYOTO
MITO
TOKYO
Nambu
Nambu
Oshima I.
HIRADO
NAGASAKI
KAGOSHIMA
BUNGO
SHIKOKU
PACIFIC OCEAN
FORMOSA
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150 200
128
132
136
140
144
148
44
40
36
32
28

APPENDIX I

THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN JAPAN

Year	*Total of population*	*Total no. of Christians*	*Percentage of total population*	*Rate of growth per annum relative to popn. during period*
1880	35,900,000	32,000	.09	—
1890	40,500,000	86,000	.21	.012
1895	42,300,000	106,000	.25	.008
1900	44,800,000	116,000	.26	.002
1905	47,700,000	133,000	.28	.004
1910	51,100,000	165,000	.32	.008
1915	54,900,000	216,000	.39	.014
1920	56,000,000[1]	248,000	.44	.01
1925	59,700,000	290,000	.49	.01

[1]First year of the official census on modern lines.

N.B.—The figures in column iii are calculated on liberal basis. The varying methods of making returns in the several Churches make it extremely difficult to arrive at an accurate figure. The totals, if reduced by about twenty-five per cent, would probably be a more accurate return of the number of those who to-day may be reckoned as sincere church members.

APPENDIX II

THE CHRISTIAN OCCUPANCY OF JAPAN

Name of Prefecture and of County or State having equivalent population	*Population*	*No. of cities*	*No. of cities occupied*	*No. of churches in cities*	*Population of cities*	*No. of towns*	*No. of towns occupied*	*No. of villages*	*No. of villages occupied*	*Population of towns and villages*	*No. of churches of Sei Ko Kwai*	*Anglican Society at work*
Total for all Prefectures ..	**59,785,000**	**104**	**104**	**653**	**12,674,000**	**1,453**	**601**	**10,729**	**108**	**47,111,000**	**275**	—
Some Typical Prefectures :												
HOKKAIDO .. .. (Kent, Surrey, Sussex)	2,499,000	6	6	40	512,000	36	24	275	16	1,987,000	30	C.M.S.
CHIBA .. .. .. (Durham or Victoria)	1,399,000	1	1	4	42,000	73	30	274	5	1,357,000	11	S.P.G., C.M.S., Australian Board
TOKYO .. .. .. (London County or Ohio)	4,485,000	2	2	100	2,041,000	39	14	161	9	2,444,000	28	S.P.G., C.M.S., American Church
SHIZUOKA .. .. (Hants & Gloucester)	1,671,000	4	4	19	261,000	45	39	293	11	1,410,000	4	S.P.G.
NAGANO .. .. .. (Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, British Columbia)	1,629,000	3	3	13	163,000	28	25	364	2	1,466,000	9	Canadian Church
WAKAYAMA .. .. (Maine)	788,000	1	1	5	96,000	25	11	206	2	692,000	8	American Church
OSAKA .. .. .. (Yorkshire or Missouri)	3,060,000	3	3	59	2,253,000	34	9	261	2	807,000	14	C.M.S., American Church
TOKUSHIMA .. .. (Devon)	690,000	1	1	4	75,000	27	7	113	0	615,000	4	C.M.S.
FUKUOKA .. .. (Essex & Middlesex)	2,302,000	9	9	34	639,000	53	18	282	3	1,663,000	1	C.M.S.

NOTES

1. Of the 1453 towns and 10,729 villages, 50 and 176 respectively are suburbs of cities.
2. There are 777 churches in the 601 occupied towns, half the difference being in the suburbs of Tokyo ; of the occupied villages only 3 have more than one church.
3. The cities have one church to every 20,000 people approximately, the towns and villages one to every 50,000. In England the average size of a parish is 2,500.

APPENDIX III

THE BUDGETS OF FOUR TYPICAL CHURCHES IN JAPAN.

(*N.B.—One yen = 2/- approx.*)

Details	*An "up-town" church in the capital (self-supporting)*	*A "down-town" church in the capital (assisted)*	*A church in a city (assisted)*	*A church in the country (assisted)*
No. of actual communicants	**81**	**45**	**52**	**21**
Total Income :	**Y2550**	[1]**838**	**1456**	**1620**
Offertories	119	97	81	154
Monthly gifts	1326	346	842	229
Special gifts	1105	389	312	226
Endowments, etc.	—	234	—	—
C.M.S. assistance	—	772	221	1011
Total Expenditure :	**Y2550**	**1838**	**1456**	**1620**
Pastor's salary	1290	[2]1500	960	1167
Church expenses	940	211	146	147
Evangelistic work	112	36	3	32
Foreign missions	57	20	36	18
Other charities	20	18	6	—
Diocesan dues	131	15	39	5
Miscellaneous	—	38	266	251[1]
Average annual gift per communicant	**Y32**	**18**	**24**	**29**

[1]Including charities.
[2]Including rent allowance.

APPENDIX IV

THE WIDESPREAD APPEAL OF THE NEWSPAPER WORK

Illustrated by

THE PREFECTURE OF CHIBA

East of Tokyo

The S.P.G., C.M.S., and Australian Board of Missions work in the prefecture.

Name of county	*No. of towns*	*No. of towns from which applications received*	*No. of villages*	*No. of villages from which applications received*
Chiba	5	5	12	9
Ichibara	4	3	17	12
Higashi-katsushika	12	7	29	18
Imba	8	6	23	20
Chosei	4	4	22	15
Sambu	6	6	26	24
Katori	7	5	34	24
Unakami	5	4	12	9
Sosa	1	1	13	11
Kimizu	6	4	36	24
Izumi	6	5	17	13
Awa	9	9	33	23
Total	73, of which 30 are occupied.	59	274, of which 5 are occupied.	202

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